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AMERICA

A-CATHOLIC-REVIEW-OF-THE-WEEK

MAY 3, 1919

PRICE TEN CENTS

Ireland at the Peace Conference

J. C. Walsh

*Staff Correspondent of "America" at the
Peace Conference*

The Destruction of the Papal States

John C. Reville

Associate Editor of "America"

Mrs. Dorr Discusses the Smith Bill

Paul L. Blakely

Associate Editor of "America"

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AMERICA**A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK**

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	PAGE
CHRONICLE	85-88

TOPICS OF INTEREST

Ireland at the Peace Conference—
The Destruction of the Papal States—
The Tumbling Spires of Religion—
Liturgy and the People—La Madonna del Paradiso.....89-98

COMMUNICATIONS	98-101
----------------------	--------

EDITORIALS

Mrs. O'Grady and the Moving Picture
—Is Ours a Free Government?—
Chaplains and Returning Soldiers—
The Restless World—Why Catholics
Honor Mary102-104

LITERATURE

A Word About Heroes—Patience—
Reviews—Books and Authors—Books
Received104-108

EDUCATION

Mrs. Dorr Discusses the Smith
Bill108-110

SOCIOLOGY

The Greatest of Labor Move-
ments110-111

NOTE AND COMMENT.....111-112

A NEW IRISH PAMPHLET**Ireland's Right
to Freedom**

By MARTIN CONBOY

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Chronicle

The War.—The long-expected text of the revised League of Nations covenant was made public in Washington April 27. It shows many changes in the document as originally published. The most important provide:

Recognition of the Monroe Doctrine in the words: "Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace."

Non-interference by the league in matters held by international law to be of "domestic jurisdiction." Expulsion from the league of any member for violation of any regulation or for dissent from any properly ratified amendment to the covenant. Voluntary withdrawal upon two years' notice by any member, provided it is not under international obligations. Admission to the league of any autonomous State giving guarantees of good faith and good-will, subject to the consent of two-thirds of the assembly. For an increase in the size of the council, at any time, subject to approval of the majority of the assembly. For unanimous agreement on decisions reached by the council and those by the assembly, except on: Admission of States (two-thirds); increase of the council (majority); parliamentary procedure and appointment of committees (majority of those present); approval of appointment of secretaries-general (majority); concurrence in a report on international disagreements (majority of members of the league not represented on the council). Establishment of the league's capital at Geneva, subject to change. Recognition of and aid for the Red Cross. For protection of natives in territories controlled by members of the league. Recognition of the right of nations to express their willingness to be protected by mandatories. For representation of women in official capacities in connection with the league. Supervision of international traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs, and regulation of moral conditions surrounding women and children.

After several days during which there was a deadlock between the Italian delegates, who persisted in their claims to the port of Fiume on the Adriatic, and Presi-

The Fiume Im- dent Wilson, who refused to recog-
broglgio; the Presi- nize the claim, the latter issued a
dent's Statement statement in which he emphatically
declared that he would not yield on the Adriatic question. The President's declaration and his determined stand in the matter created what by many is considered the greatest sensation of the Peace Conference. The President's virtual ultimatum is considered a sweeping indictment of the policy of secret treaties. While aimed directly at the Adriatic problems, it also reaches the Kiao-Chau contro-

versy in which Japan relies upon secret pacts made in 1917 with Great Britain, France and Italy to support her in her claim to the concessions formerly held by Germany in Shantung.

In his note the President declared that Fiume could not become a part of Italy. He pointed out that every condition concerning the Adriatic settlement had been changed since Italy had entered the war on the promises of the secret Treaty of London, for the Austro-Hungarian Empire no longer exists. He noted that new States had been created for which Fiume was the natural outlet to the sea, and contended that the strategic necessity pleaded in behalf of Italy's claim to the Dalmatian Islands no longer prevailed, since the Austrian naval menace no longer existed. In concluding the President said of Italy:

Her ancient unity is restored. Her lines are extended to the great walls which are her natural defense. It is within her choice to be surrounded by friends; to exhibit to the newly liberated peoples across the Adriatic that noblest quality of greatness, magnanimity, friendly generosity, the preference of justice over interest. The nations associated with her, the nations that know nothing of the pact of London or of any other special understanding that lies at the beginning of this great struggle, and who have made their supreme sacrifice also in the interest, not of national advantage or defense, but of the settled peace of the world, are now united with her older associates in urging her to assume a leadership which cannot be mistaken in the new order of Europe. America is Italy's friend. Her people are drawn, millions strong, from Italy's own fair countrysides. She is linked in blood, as well as in affection, with the Italian people. Such ties can never be broken. And America was privileged, by the generous commission of her associates in the war, to initiate the peace we are about to consummate—to initiate it upon terms which she had herself formulated and in which I was her spokesman. The compulsion is upon her to square every decision she takes a part in with those principles. She can do nothing else. She trusts Italy, and in her trust believes that Italy will ask nothing of her that cannot be made unmistakably consistent with those sacred obligations. The interests are not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of States new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of a right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure. These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace. Only upon these principles, she hopes and believes, will the people of Italy ask her to make peace.

The Italian Premier, Signor Orlando, expressed pro-

found surprise at the declaration of President Wilson, which, he said, came at a time when he was "about to

**Premier Orlando's
Counter-Statement**

make a supreme attempt at conciliation." Referring to the withdrawal of the Italian delegates from the Conference which had been already settled upon, he added: "The Italian delegates, hoping to see the Italian problem adjusted amicably, might have taken some other decision than ceasing to collaborate in the labors of the Conference, had this statement not been issued." On April 24, the day following President Wilson's declaration, the Italian Premier issued a lengthy counter-statement. In it he declared that Mr. Wilson's proclamation was an attempt to place the Italian Government in opposition to the people. "He is treating the Italians," said Signor Orlando, "as if they were a barbarous people without a democratic government." He rebuked the President for appealing to the Italian people over the head of the Italian Government; he affirmed that he never considered the American people bound by the Treaty of London, but said that Italy's case was based rather on right and justice; that he never denied that the pact of London did not apply to Fiume, but the Italian claim was based on President Wilson's fourteen points. The following are the most striking passages of Orlando's note:

The practice of addressing nations directly constitutes surely an innovation in international relations. I do not wish to complain, but I wish to record it as a precedent, so that at my own time I may follow it, inasmuch as this new custom doubtless constitutes the granting to nations of larger participation in international questions, and, personally, I have always been of the opinion that such participation was the harbinger of a new order of things. Nevertheless, if these appeals are to be considered as addressed to nations outside of the Governments which represent them (I might say even against the Governments), I should feel deep regret in recalling that this process, heretofore applied to enemy Governments, is today applied for the first time to a Government which has been and intends to remain a loyal ally of the great American Republic, namely, to the Italian Government.

The Italian Premier concluded his note with these words:

The Presidential message ends with a warm declaration of America's friendship for Italy. I reply in the name of the Italian people, and proudly claim the right and honor to do this as one who, in the most tragic hour of this war, proclaimed the cry of resistance at all costs. This cry was heard and replied to with courage and abnegation, of which there are few more striking examples in the world's history. Italy, thanks to the most heroic sacrifices and purest blood of her children, was able to ascend from the abyss of misfortunes to the radiant crest of most glorious victory. In the name, therefore, of Italy, I express with all my power the sentiment of admiration and profound sympathy which the Italian people professes toward the American people.

Shortly after this statement the Italian Premier left Paris for Rome. Foreign Minister Sonnino and ex-Premier Salandra also left the Conference. In Rome Signor Orlando was received with the greatest enthu-

siasm. No feelings antagonistic to America were shown, the whole demonstration being a fervent manifestation in behalf of Italy's claims. In his address to the crowds, the Premier said that two questions faced them. The first was whether the Government and the Italian delegates had well interpreted the will of the Italian people. To this question the crowds answered by an enthusiastic "yes." The second question was to estimate the gravity of the situation. That question, he added, should be well considered, for food supplies for which they relied upon America and the Allies were failing them. "But Italy which has known hunger, has never known dishonor." "We must show," he continued, "that we have taken the worst into consideration. After four years of unspeakable privations and sacrifices, we may find ourselves faced with fresh sacrifices and privations. At this moment, Italy is ready and greater than ever—greater than in May, 1915." The Premier was received by the King at the Royal Palace where another and equally enthusiastic demonstration took place in his honor.

Contradictory reports came at first from Paris as to the position of Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau on President Wilson's stand and statement on the Fiume question. Dispatches dated April 26, stated that both Premiers back the President in the matter and that a statement to that effect will be soon issued. President Wilson's copy of his declaration on the Fiume dispute, the same dispatches say, bears the initialed approval of both Premiers.

Alsace-Lorraine.—An exhaustive and illuminative study of the situation in Alsace-Lorraine appeared in the issue of the *Etudes* for April 5. After discussing other

**The Religious
Question**

phases of the question, the author, M. Yves de la Brière, takes up the religious side, and asks whether or in what measure is to be applied in the provinces the legislation which regulates in France the exercise and organization of religious worship, the status of the lay and private schools, the status of Religious Congregations. Until peace is actually concluded the provinces remain nominally under the old régime, but as soon as the annexation has been juridically completed, the French laws will be applicable to Alsace and Lorraine, for such is the purport of the ruling laid down by the Council of State on December 24, 1896, according to which French legislation in its entirety is applicable to every part of French territory.

French legislation, in so far as it concerns the exercise and organization of religious worship, regards religious bodies as mere private organizations without public or official character; it suppresses State support for religious worship; foundations and funds, provided for the maintenance of ecclesiastical institutions, unless they acquire official recognition by the formation of "*associations culturelles*" are transferred to official works of charity or assistance, that is confiscated by the State. This legisla-

tion opens disquieting prospects for Alsace-Lorraine, where religious bodies and ministers of religion enjoy an official status, where there is a public budget for the support of the Hierarchy and clergy, and where the patrimony of the Church, consisting of foundations, has a legal status. The prevailing system, which is based on the Concordat, is an object of sincere attachment to the people. Nevertheless all this must be changed if the French legislation is put into effect, as M. Millerand, the High Commissioner, recently declared would be the case, if not in the immediate present, at least in the near future.

It is pointed out in the *Etudes* that to enforce a change so radically at variance with the deepest convictions of the people and the customs which have obtained for 250 years among them, will be highly impolitic and cannot but lead to those regrettable divisions which for so long a time have rent the unity of France. This result is the more certain in view of the fact that the people of the provinces are profoundly religious. In the diocese of Strassburg, out of a population of 1,200,000, there are 860,000 Catholics, 320,000 Protestants, mostly Lutherans, and 23,000 Hebrews; in the diocese of Metz out of 650,000 inhabitants there are 530,000 Catholics, 60,000 Protestants, mostly Calvinists, and 6,000 Hebrews. The leaders among the Catholics are for the most part the clergy, who exercise a preponderating influence, both moral and religious, on the soul of the people. Besides, the Catholics are well organized and have a dominant political power which is all the stronger because it is instinct with the best and deepest-rooted traditions of the land.

Separation of Church and State, which is proposed for Alsace-Lorraine no less than for France, perplexes even the Protestants and Hebrews, but it causes the profoundest anxiety to Catholics who constitute three-quarters of the population. Since the organization of religious bodies under the form of "*associations cultuelles*" does not accord with the hierarchical constitution of the Church, it will not be accepted by the Catholics. The example of their coreligionists in France, who under the direction of Pius X, unanimously refused, Bishops, clergy and laity alike, to accept the system, will be followed in Alsace-Lorraine unless that system is radically modified, with the result that bitterness and dissension will ensue.

The conclusion is irresistible that France must not impose her present ecclesiastical legislation on Alsace-Lorraine, if the enthusiasm which marked the first stage of the provinces' return to the mother country, but which subsequent developments have considerably chilled, is to be restored. Official France seems bent on the eventual application of the Law of Separation, pure and simple, perhaps after a period of ten years, during which the present state of things will be permitted to continue; the one exception contemplated is that actual ecclesiastics may be offered a stipend for the rest of their lives. There are others however with better insight into the Alsatian character who advocate, not a mere palliative, but a sort

of pact which shall assure to the Catholic Church in Alsace-Lorraine a legal status, and to ecclesiastics the free possession and disposition of ecclesiastical property, in other words, a charter of real liberty of worship. A precedent for such a procedure is found in the fact that the operation of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was not extended to Alsace, although it was applied to France. Still others advise that the French Government should have recourse to the Vatican for the solution of the problem, and so lay solid foundations for the reconciliation of the nation with the Holy See.

Central Powers.—The Communist effort to control Vienna has failed. Among the Hungarian agitators arrested in that city was an officer of the Red Guard in

Communist Reversals

whose room the police found more than 1,000,000 kronen as well as a large quantity of women's jewelry and other valuables which had come from Budapest where the Red Guard requisitioned and nationalized property. At Lindau, in Bavaria, the Communists met with complete defeat. Under protection of the Württemberg troops, that had besieged the city and overthrown the Communist regime, an election was held in which the Communist system of government was rejected by a great majority. Special trains filled with Red Guards from Munich were captured and the Bavarian Communist Minister of War, Reichardt, was surprised and arrested together with his staff. Communist leaders, however, are still making overtures to the people of Southern Bavaria and appealing in particular to the Bavarian women. There has been much plundering of towns and bitter fighting between Communists and citizens. At Munich itself Count Arco Valley, the assassin of Kurt Eisner, is said to have been dragged from a hospital and lynched. The Hoffman Ministry, whose Government center is at Bamberg, has apparently maintained its advantages and hopes soon to control the situation. Sufficient Government troops are thought to be in Bavaria to overcome the Communists at Munich. The Soviet Government has apparently disappeared as a third factor in the struggle that will now be waged between the Communists and the Hoffman forces. Measures are already being taken at Bamberg, pending the restoration of order in Munich, to have ready for immediate operation an industrial-council system. Under this plan boards of employees can instantly be created for all industries, organizations and offices. These boards are to have unprecedented powers regarding the engaging and releasing of employees, the fixing of wages, the regulation of apprentices and the determination of measures for the protection and benefit of the workmen. They are to have no right, however, to participate in any way in the operation of the plants. At Berlin the danger of Spartacide uprisings has apparently passed, since the city is now well protected and Spartacide leaders have no hope of overthrowing the existing Government.

Ireland.—The history of the strike in Ireland forms another interesting chapter in the struggle of the brave nation for freedom. The country had been under martial

*History of the
Strike*

laws for months, infested with British soldiers, machine guns and other implements of war. Suddenly, in protest against this state of affairs, a general strike was inaugurated in Limerick. Gas and electric supplies were cut off and food ceased to come into the city, as the farmers refused to apply for military permits. Immediately Dublin Castle issued a statement to the effect that if indisposed persons held up food, the Government should not be thought responsible for that act. At the same time martial law was made more stringent in Cork, Limerick, Tipperary, Kerry and Roscommon. Soon the strike spread to Cork and a workmen's committee was formed there and began to issue bread tickets. Meantime the military forces were erecting barriers across all roads leading to Limerick, and all bridges and strategic points were heavily guarded. Just at this crisis Bonar Law declared in the House of Commons that Ireland would not get Home Rule on the conclusion of peace. The Irish answered by threatening "to tie up" the whole country. The next day, April 21, 500 Limerick strikers went out of the city to a hurling match and were refused readmission by the soldiery because they did not have military passes. The number of armed sentries was doubled and a tank and an armored car were put into position to command the bridge. The *London Daily Chronicle*, organ of Lloyd George, denounced the "anarchy" of the Irish, but the latter held their ground—and suddenly dispatches ceased to reach America. Just what is taking place now in Ireland is unknown outside that country and Downing Street. The abruptness with which the British censor cut off the news is, to say the least, suspicious. One good effect has come of the strike: the English Liberal papers, like the *Manchester Guardian*, have made it the occasion of strong editorials urging the final settlement of the Irish problem. Despite the protest of Castle Irishmen, at home and abroad, the *Guardian* insists that the problem is not merely domestic and should, therefore, find place in the deliberations of the Peace Conference. This point is being vigorously pushed by the Irish-American delegation to Paris, the three delegates insisting that they must be heard by the Conference.

Rome.—The interest attaching to the two Italian organizations which have lately been given so much publicity called forth some questions in the meeting of the Diocesan committees of the *Unione Popolare*, recently held in Rome. To these questions the President responded with some clear distinctions. He insisted that although certain supreme religious and moral interests might take on an essentially political complexion, there were other political problems concerning the life of the citizens and the nation which had no such connection.

From the former class of problems "Catholic Action," out of true devotion to the authority of the supreme principles, could not dissociate itself; as to the second class of problems it allowed a just liberty of opinion, judgment, program and action; Catholic action could not always prescind from political activity, it could not by any means be identified with it; the *Unione Popolare* on occasion might be interested in political programs, it was not, could not become, a Catholic political party. In Italy this principle was as well defined as in other lands where political activity had been kept sharply distinguished from activity of an essentially religious and moral character. This distinction, however, the President said, in no way constituted a limitation of the scope of "Catholic Action," which remained what it was before the formation of the *Partito Popolare Italiano*. Certain former officers of the *Unione Popolare* on organizing the *Partito Popolare* had thought it well to resign from the offices which they had held in the former association in order to emphasize the fact that the two organizations were separate and independent, with no mutual responsibility. In this sense their resignations had been accepted, but it was idle to say that membership in one organization was incompatible with membership in the other.

The text of the discourses pronounced by Mgr. Touchet, Bishop of Orleans, and by Pope Benedict XV, on the occasion of the reading of the decree recording the decision of the Holy Father to proceed at some future date to the canonization of Joan of Arc are given in the issue of *La Croix* for April 8. The ceremony, which took place two days earlier, was held in the Hall of the Consistory in the Vatican before a brilliant audience, made up to a large extent of Frenchmen, ecclesiastical and lay.

Les Nouvelles Religieuses gives the following interesting details of the last steps in the process. The Congregation of Rites, on March 18, gathered in the Vatican to examine in the presence of the Supreme Pontiff the miracles which had been presented for the canonization of the Maid of Orleans. Thirteen Cardinals, members of the Congregation of Rites, among them Cardinal Amette, were present, and twenty-two consultors. When all had expressed their opinion on the miraculous character of the cures obtained through the intercession of Joan of Arc since her beatification, the Pope dismissed the session which had been satisfied with the miracles, and asked for prayers that his decision might be enlightened by the Holy Spirit. This decision was announced by his Holiness, on March 26, to be in the affirmative. As a consequence the canonization of Blessed Joan of Arc is assured. The *Catholic News Service* of London states that Cardinal Amette in an interview granted to the *Corriere d'Italia* declared that the date for the canonization had been advanced, and that the ceremony might be expected in June or July.

Ireland at the Peace Conference

J. C. WALSH

Staff Correspondent of "America"

FOR the first two months of the Peace Conference the word Ireland was not to be spoken above a whisper in Paris. It was well understood that the British delegates did not want Ireland mentioned in their hearing, and it was also felt that they might take offense if it were mentioned anywhere else. As a distinguished Frenchman remarked the other day, "Our English friends are so very susceptible in all these matters that one has to be so very careful if one would avoid giving offense." Even amongst the American delegation it seemed to be the general feeling that any mention of Ireland had about it an unpleasant suggestion of bad manners. Among the Americans, as among the French, there were many who felt that as a mere matter of justice, or consistency with proclaimed ideals, Ireland was entitled to a place in the conversation, but such considerations as these naturally had to give place to the necessity the Allies were under of sticking together. As time has gone on, and as the division of the spoils has proceeded, there is a visible lessening of solicitude on the part of each of the Allied interests concerning the susceptibilities of the others. The Italians have threatened to go home. The French are daily grumbling against the British. The Americans would be quite willing to wash their hands of Europe if it could be done. And the British mind is far more occupied with getting orders for business than it is with what are classified as the petulant demands of France and Italy. So that even the word Ireland can be spoken now without producing too much of a shock.

The Irish did not wait for this alteration in the stage setting. Early in February there arrived in Paris a clean-shaven, soft-spoken member of the Dublin Corporation, who answers at his hotel to the name O'Kelly, but who is identified in Dublin as "Shawn T." by many who never thought to inquire concerning his family name. Mr. O'Kelly—since we still spell it that way, though he prefers a form that is many hundreds of years older—came to Paris to invite President Wilson to accept the freedom of the city of Dublin, and at this writing has been waiting for seven weeks, without the least impatience, for the President's answer. The request had been made by telegraph, but as no answer was received it was thought best, in view of the uncertainties of the wires at that time, as well as of the President's known pre-occupations, to send a delegate to renew the invitation. It was suggested that the British authorities might not allow the messenger to go, and there was some reason for this doubt, because the British have exercised a rather large military discretion concerning permission to

proceed to Paris. I was given to understand myself, for instance, that my freedom to represent AMERICA in Paris was contingent upon satisfying a very polite and considerate British officer, before landing in England. I was told that this condition was reasonable notwithstanding that I, with an Irish name, was to write for a Catholic paper. Correspondents with neither of these handicaps have, in fact, had more grievous matter for complaint, or thought they had. So it was not surprising that doubts arose about Mr. O'Kelly's being given his military visé. His application, however, was made just at the time when the desire not to offend anyone's susceptibilities was strongest, and though Mr. O'Kelly avowed his political predilections when applying in London, and although there were long delays because of consultations higher up, he got what he asked for. Probably it was foreseen that he might have a lot of time on his hands in Paris, while waiting for the answer of the over-busy President, so he brought along credentials to the Peace Conference itself, with the intention of keeping things going until such time as it would please the British authorities to permit the appearance in Paris of the regularly nominated delegate of the Irish National Assembly, then confined in English prisons without charges but on suspicion of being impatient against military rule in Ireland. I am not sure that Mr. O'Kelly would hasten home even if he were to get in his morning's mail Mr. Wilson's acceptance of the freedom of Dublin. The cables may be working better nowadays and he might send word that way. At any rate he has had time to address to the president, secretary and members of the Peace Conference authoritative information concerning Ireland's expectations. Some of those who have received them go so far as to say they have been very well prepared. Mr. O'Kelly has not received any intimation as yet, however, that the Conference desires the presence of Mr. De Valera, although that gentleman is now free to confer with the other delegates if called upon, being at present out of jail, thanks to the initiative of his friends.

No doubt the first, and hasty, deduction from all this will be that there is an element of the play-boy spirit about it, that the move has been prompted by a desire to irritate the British Government, and represents nothing more serious than an ebullition of the irrepressible humor of the Irish. Because Mr. O'Kelly has the pleasant word, a soft voice and a humorous smile, perhaps there are those who doubt the seriousness of his purpose. They make a great mistake. He was one of those who figured in the events of Easter week. He knew about Casement's

landing and the sinking of the Auk before the viceroy did. He was privy to the arrangements for stopping the "maneuvers" prepared for Easter Sunday 1916, and when the situation was forced on Monday he went in with the rest and came out with wounds. He has spent many months in English prisons, under conditions which make it clear that England is ripe for prison reform. He has been interned in England and has calmly evaded the internment. He knows precisely what is the feeling in Ireland, better than we know it whose information is limited by the British censorship. And when I asked him how far he could see into the future his ready answer was:

I contemplate with horror a failure on the part of the Peace Conference to see justice done to Ireland. The Conference will have its chance, but if when it is over we are still left at the mercy of England, then there is almost certain to be another insurrection. I do not say this as a threat, but simply as expressing my opinion that if it goes to the world that English rule is to be continued in Ireland the young men of Ireland will do their best to show that England cannot rule there. They know what they will face, but they will not shrink from the consequences. There is a great responsibility upon those who have taught the sanctity of self-determination, the rights of small nations, the erection of a reign of peace upon a basis of right and justice. For the Irish people there is no make-believe about all that. They will not stand on their belief merely because the Peace Conference washes its hands of them. I hope the nations will realize this now. That is why I am here to remind them of Ireland, even if, for their own convenience, some of them prefer not to be reminded.

As evidence of the temper of which he speaks Mr. O'Kelly points to the way the prisoners contrive to render jail-discipline impossible, and to the success attained in securing the release of important prisoners. It is a continuous contest of wits, or of wits against force. The freeing of Mr. De Valera was delayed for a fortnight because four prisoners inconsiderately escaped from another jail, which fact led to an increase of precautions. One of the men detailed to get De Valera out, a Protestant and landowner whose Irish feelings were revealed to him by the Maxwell executions, was put into Mountjoy prison, in Ireland, from which nobody had hitherto escaped. They got him out, however, and for good measure thirty others have taken themselves off. As there are always about six hundred political prisoners in Ireland this game goes on all the time. For greater security a number of prisoners from the South were taken to Belfast. After an interval, during which they arranged to have stores of food brought in, they took possession of one wing of the prison and barricaded themselves therein. Finally, the Irish Chief Secretary, the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the governor of the prison made terms with the men, who went about their business under all the forms of military command until the trial was arranged, to the astonishment of the governor, who saw his prisoners discharging his functions while he stood by helpless. It is claimed that the terms were not respected, and another rebellion has started, against

which the authorities have no other recourse than measures of the severest physical repression. Still the spirit of the prisoners is not broken, and the point is that the same spirit prevails from one end of the country to the other.

This it is which lends emphasis to the address Mr. O'Kelly has presented to M. Clemenceau protesting against Article X of the League of Nations proposals, the effect of which would be to oblige all nations, as a condition of membership in the League, to negative, as against Ireland, every one of the principles that have been invoked by President Wilson and the benefits of which are to be applied to every other nationality in Europe under the same international obligation. The Irish troops returning home are of the same mind as the rest of the population. Indeed it is said their return is being retarded on that account. Mr. Churchill is asking for an army of 40,000 for permanent occupation of Ireland. And the London *Times* is trying to allay the agitation by professing a tardy interest in Home Rule.

In his first address to the Conference, Mr. O'Kelly, after stating the case of Ireland, asked that the three nominees of the Irish National Assembly be given their place in the deliberations of the Conference. This not having received an answer, he again addressed the Conference, this time taking exception to those clauses in the draft convention of the League of Nations which, if finally adopted, would make Ireland's case even worse than it is now. Article VII, for instance, would allow a place in the League to self-governing colonies but would exclude Ireland. Article X would be even worse. So far from applying to Ireland the Wilsonian doctrines, the very reverse would happen. Not only would her subjection to Great Britain be perpetuated, but every nation would be obliged, as a condition of membership in the League, to respect and preserve that subjection, something none of them has hitherto been committed to. Indeed, some of them have gone on record, and others have acted, in the contrary sense. Accompanying the protest to the Conference Mr. O'Kelly addressed to President Wilson a particular appeal, basing Ireland's case upon his own declarations. As one reads the letter one is reminded of the speech in which Mr. Wilson, referring to Russia, spoke of an "acid test" of the sincerity of the Allies. Here is something very like an "acid test" of his own sincerity, in which, by the way, Mr. De Valera has quite recently expressed himself a confident believer.

If the Irish people suffer disappointment at our hands also, what will they think of us and of our profession that we fought this war to make the world safe for democracy? Ireland's woes may not melt our hearts to pity, but perhaps some good spirit may prompt us to protect our national honor by asking for self-determination for the Irish too. The Irish expect this of us, and, strange as it may appear, so do people of other nations represented here at Paris. What then does America intend to do? Who knows? Not even Mr. Wilson, perhaps.

The Destruction of the Papal States

JOHN C. REVILLE, S. J.

THE idea of Italian unity is of comparatively recent growth. Before the last years of the eighteenth century, the political unification of the Italian Peninsula in the modern sense of the word, does not seem to have presented itself in permanent form to any of the great men Italy produced. Machiavelli perhaps had visions of such a union under Cesare Borgia. It is true that Dante and Petrarch, and Pope after Pope longed for Italian independence of foreign power, but they were satisfied with the motto "Italy for the Italians." Provided that their Republics such as Florence, Pisa, Genoa and Venice, the Papal States and the various Duchies and Principalities were self-governing and free from the stranger's grasp, Italian patriots do not appear to have made any concerted attempt to have them consolidated into one State.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the dream of a politically united Italy began to take definite shape. That dream might have issued in a situation in which the rights of the Papacy would have been safeguarded, one in which the preservation of these rights would even have furthered the plan of a consolidated Peninsula. But unfortunately the noble dream was concretized into fact by men hostile to revealed religion, enemies of Catholicism and the Papacy and all that they represented. To the spiritual prerogatives of the Popes, in which of course, these men did not believe, they saw that the temporal power added an immense prestige; it was, they imagined, the only bulwark of the Popes, the cause of their position of honor in the world. That temporal power destroyed, the Papacy and the Church would disappear.

Nor is it astonishing that in an age when the principle of authority was violently opposed, the representatives of the highest spiritual authority should find their adversaries. For, as Joseph de Maistre writes, it was during the eighteenth century that infidelity became a real power, and by an almost inconceivable fascination, deceived kings and princes themselves, the very men against whom it turned its weapons. The "philosophy" of Voltaire, of Rousseau, of Diderot, the Deism of Tindal, the materialism of Helvetius and D'Holbach, found some of their most ardent supporters at the courts of Louis XV and Louis XVI, of Frederick the Great, of Joseph II, and in the aristocratic circles of London and Paris. It was impossible that the Popes should escape attack. Despoiled of temporal power, the Church, so reasoned her enemies, would soon disappear. The Church gone, the barrier of revealed, supernatural religion would be removed, politics would be independent of religion, the path of the Revolution would be unimpeded, its victory certain.

The Congress of Vienna in 1815 performed at least one statesmanlike act. Thanks to the brilliant diplomacy of Cardinal Consalvi, the man who had withstood Napoleon, and who in the Congress was a match for Metternich, Hardenberg, Castlereagh and Talleyrand, the Papal States were restored practically in their entirety to the venerable Pius VII, long the victim of the imperial jailer of France. But the Congress had no plan for the unification of the Italian Peninsula. It left Italy as it found it, divided. It created in the North the Kingdom of Sardinia under the House of Savoy, in the South the two Sicilies under the Bourbons, and left in the central regions the Papal States. There were besides these, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and the Duchies of Modena and Parma. But the Congress still retained the foreigner in power on the soil of Italy, for it had handed over the Lombardo-Venetian territory to Austria. It was thus perpetuating old hatreds and opening the way for revolution. For some time Austrian bayonets and Austrian prisons kept the Lombardo-Venetians in subjection, and the Austrian victory at Novara over Charles Albert of Sardinia seemed to rivet Italy's chains more firmly. Nevertheless the patriots of Young Italy, secret societies like the Carbonari, the writings of Giuseppe Mazzini, the political pamphlets of Massimo d'Azeglio and Count Cesare Balbo, fanned the flame of opposition against the House of Hapsburg. That the Austrian Government blundered, that its coercive measures were harsh, oppressive, and at times cruel, cannot be denied. On the other hand, that opposition to it from the Mazzini and Garibaldi school came from the fact that Austria was a Catholic power is just as certain. Austria had to be got rid of because she was the support of the Papacy just as much as for the reason that she was a reminder to Italian patriots that they were still under the oppressive rule of the stranger.

Only one power on the Peninsula was capable of resisting Austria, the Kingdom of Sardinia where, after the resignation of Charles Albert, his son Victor Emmanuel II ruled. Opposition then to Austria, not only in the Lombardo-Venetian territory, but wherever malcontents, conspirators, political agitators and genuine grievances were to be found, crystallized around the throne of the new king. A cunning, unscrupulous policy was to be inaugurated. Austria was to be crushed with the aid of some other European power; Piedmont was to be raised to the rank of a leading State in Europe, Austria should be driven out of the peninsula, the Bourbons should quickly follow, the duchies were one by one to be gathered into the Piedmontese net. Savoy, as the proverb ran, was to eat up the Italian artichoke leaf by

leaf. But the States of the Pope stood in the way. What mattered it? Italy was to be unified; they must disappear. The plan, as hypocritical as it was criminal, and only guardedly put forth in the days of Gregory XVI, was finally unmasked after the accession of Pius IX to the throne.

The reign of the new Pope opened with a hosanna of triumph even from the enemies of the Papacy. It was to close in the gloom of Calvary. It was in vain that, alive to the democratic aspirations of his people, Pius IX gave them a constitutional government with lay ministers and, with kingly generosity pardoned political offenders. In the general revolt of 1848 against all settled order in Europe, he too fell a victim to the secret machinations of those agitators who were undermining the thrones of princes and kings, and he had to take refuge at Gaeta under the protection of the King of Naples. "*Italia Una*" was the cry, Italy unified, as Gioberti at first proclaimed, under the Pope if possible, but unified at all costs! Restored in 1850 to his capital, Pius IX was at last to become the victim of one of the saddest dramas the world has seen.

The makers of Italian unity were found. There were sinister influences in the background, Napoleon III, at first the protector of the Pope, then his betrayer; the masked forces of Mazzinianism and the secret societies; the moral support of English ministers of State and envoys like Lords Palmerston, Clarendon and John Russell. These moved behind the scenes. But as Canon Barry says: "A statesman, a king and a freebooter wrought out this drama between them. The statesman was Cavour, the king Victor Emmanuel, the freebooter Garibaldi" ("*The Papacy and Modern Times*," p. 233).

Count Camillo Benso di Cavour was one of the cleverest and most unscrupulous men of his times. He was the Machiavelli of the anti-Papal conspiracy. Without him Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi would have been powerless. Minister of Victor Emmanuel, he made a puppet of his king. Of Napoleon III he frequently made a tool, and as occasion required flattered or fettered Garibaldi. He made the "Italian Question" an international one. With unflinching directness and sureness of purpose, he went straight to his goal, overriding all obstacles, using all his undoubted genius, but also flinging away in the task his honor and self-respect. The expulsion of the Austrians, the dethronement of the Italian princes in the Peninsula, the destruction of the temporal power of the Holy See, all leading to the unification of Italy under the House of Savoy, such was his plan. He did not live to see the last act of the drama which he had so skilfully staged, but after his death men of his school like Ricasoli and La Marmora were able to continue his work.

To carry on his plan Cavour had to "bring out" Piedmont on the theater of world politics. Victor Emmanuel and his people had no interests at stake in the Crimean War. But Piedmontese troops were dispatched to the trenches of Sebastopol to fight side by side with the Eng-

lish and the French, and though they played no very glorious part, they reminded the world that a new player was taking his place at the absorbing game of international politics. At the Congress of Paris in 1856, Cavour again moved with extraordinary skill. No representatives of the Italian sovereigns of the South or of the Popes were present at the Conference, yet in violation of all international courtesy, the internal affairs of these princes were discussed. The "incapacity" and "oppression" of the Papal administration were especially emphasized, and a demand was made that the administration of the Romagna and the Pontifical "Legations" should be taken away from the Pope. The process of spoliation begun, it steadily kept on its course when Cavour dragged Napoleon into war with Austria, and French victories over Gyulay and Benedek at Magenta and Solferino in 1859 were crowned with the peace of Villafranca and Zurich, which annexed Lombardy to the House of Savoy. The leaves of the artichoke were beginning to disappear. The Romagna which Pius IX nobly refused to sign away was also forcibly annexed.

Garibaldi meanwhile invaded Sicily, and entered Naples after a series of almost bloodless victories. In the September of the same year, treacherously lending a hand to the Garibaldian bandits, 70,000 Sardinian troops under Fanti and Cialdini crossed the boundaries of the Papal States without a declaration of war, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Papal army under Lamoriciere and Pimodan at Castelfidardo, to the southwest of Ancona, a defeat which subsequently led to the fall of Ancona itself. This was followed by the annexation of Umbria and the Marches "sanctioned," like other annexations of the same kind, by the farce of a plebiscite carried on under the bayonets of Sardinian soldiers. Shortly after Garibaldi hailed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy at Teano, for the "*Re Galantuomo*" had entered Naples from the north, seized Capri, and in spite of the gallant defense of Gaeta by Afanto di Rivera, which gave that officer a European reputation, forced Francis II to abdicate and take the road of exile to Rome, where Pius IX nobly repaid the hospitality he had once received at Gaeta. Victor Emmanuel was now practically master of Italy from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. Venice was to be "gathered in" in the war of 1866 between Austria and Prussia.

The Pope's friends were gone. Hapsburgs and Bourbons could help him no more. Napoleon, though at times revolting against his slavery to Cavour and Cavour's policies, and willing to undo his work in the odious conspiracy against the Pope, would soon be helpless, for he would need every French rifle for the invaded fields of France. The little "Patrimony of Peter" was now all that was left of the Papal States. Cavour died in 1862, calling on his death-bed for the spiritual helps of that Church he had treacherously assailed. But he had given the watchword it was too late to recall. Victor Emmanuel must make Rome the capital of Italy.

It took eight years to bring Victor Emmanuel to the Eternal City. The scruples of the Piedmontese monarch, terrified at times at the thought of his contemplated treachery, the convention between France and Italy binding the latter to respect the Papal territories, and the French to withdraw their garrison from Rome, helped to delay the final catastrophe. By 1866 the French troops had left Roman soil. Garibaldi again appeared on the scene, formed committees of insurrection, and attempted the "liberation" of Rome. Ratazzi, the new Premier, looked on, then interned the rather sorry hero on his island of Caprera. Garibaldi escaped. Napoleon and the French Catholics, to their honor, came to the help of the Pope, and with a small detachment in conjunction with the Papal Zouaves defeated the Garibaldian freebooters at Mentana, November 1867. The victory filled the Catholic world with joy. But Pius IX knew that the last act of the tragedy was drawing near. Rome was too close and alluring a prize for the disciples of Cavour to let it slip from their hands. In the Franco-Prussian War Italy looked to its own interests. Prussia, at the price of Italian neutrality, allowed Victor Emmanuel to march upon Rome, and Napoleon, sore pressed by Germany, withdrew his troops from the Eternal City.

The conspirators now had free play. In that fatal summer of 1870, Ponza di San Martino brought a letter to the Vatican. "With the devotion of a son, the faith of a Catholic, the loyalty of a king, and the heart

of an Italian," Victor Emmanuel informed Pius IX that he intended to occupy the Papal States. Heartless and illogical conclusion of a hypocritical exordium. The Pope answered a single word: "Might then comes before right," and awaited the bursting of the storm. On September 11, General Cadorna's troops crossed the Papal frontiers, on September 20 they were battering down the gates of Rome, at which General Kanzler, by the orders of the Pontiff made but a nominal resistance, so as to spare the effusion of useless blood. A few hours after the invaders marched into the Eternal City. Victor Emmanuel had now his capital in Rome, but through fraud and hypocrisy, by spoliation and robbery. The Pope was a prisoner in the Vatican. The temporal power was no more. Of that temporal power says Lecky, a Protestant writer, "no pen can write the epitaph, for no imagination can adequately realize its glories. In the eyes of those who estimate the greatness of a sovereignty, not by the extent of its territory, or by the valor of its soldiers, but by the influence which it has exercised over mankind, the Papal Government has had no rival, and can have no successor." An intruder reigns in the City of the Popes. Rome will be itself only when a great wrong hypocritically planned and cruelly and unjustly carried out, will be undone, only when the Popes come back into that kingdom which by every title of justice and law was undeniably theirs, and of which they were deprived without cause.

The Tumbling Spires of Religion

EDWARD F. MURPHY

IT is a healthy sign that religion is so much to the fore these days, even if largely for the purpose of sinister criticism. Its luster cannot but shine through the most sinister attempts. A beam is all the brighter for the encircling gloom.

In the early years of the Great War, our scholars gazed across the sea with dreams in their eyes, and beheld a religion of democracy at birth in the ruddy leap of flames. The past was being consumed. Traditional Christianity was dying on its cross of test. The last of mystery and dogma was writhing in the fires. The phoenix of social service would soar, glorious and immortal. Has it done so?

Of course, it is too early to expect too much; still, it seems rather late not to behold even the gracious approach of the shadow of this flattering result. Today the more obvious facts are the quite prosaic black scowl of Germany, the emaciation of France, the snarl of Russia, the moan of Armenia, the plea of Ireland, and the frown of England. With so much of the unpleasant concrete before us, however, minds still flounder in the glittering abstract, and mouths prate of the millenium. We re-

ject what we have; we expect what has never been had. The voice of history breathes "no" on our theorizings; but apparently it is more probable that all the past should be mistaken than that modern pride should err. The world is evolving, despite the bloody witness of the past four years. The thrones of kings have gone; the spires of churches must yield. The race has been hewn exteriorly to a democratic level; interiorly the same leveling process must obtain; a freedom and equality of souls as well as of bodies. Self is to be lost in the surge of ideals. Individual advancement, material and spiritual, will give place to the nobler progress of social welfare. Such is the new gospel, equipped with all modern conveniences, and quite without benefit of Christ.

Stirring it is asserted that the practical corroborators of this up-to-date creed are none other than our own soldier-boys. They merged themselves in a great cause and have been purged of self. On the fields of France their childhood's faith was slain, only to rise in socially glorified form from the tomb of disillusionment. Individual salvation seemed crude to them in the presence of the massive task of redeeming the world. Vision and

purpose expanded; individualism vanished in the common weal; each man had opportunity to stand out of himself and behold how small and insignificant was the world of yester-year in which he lived and moved. The narrowness of the past nauseated! Destiny decreed that henceforward nothing small could hold honored place in "doughboy" breast. The essence of the soldier's future religion would be Socialistic instead of purely individualistic.

This is all very stimulating; but, as a shaft against the Church, it is seen by the discerning to miss its mark. Traditional Christianity has never deified self. Its Founder, its pattern throughout the centuries, was the soul of selflessness. True, the constant ecclesiastical warning has been "What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" And Judge Ben B. Lindsey would have it that really the Church should awake and whang, "What shall it profit a man to save his own soul if the whole world is to be lost?" But anyone with a ray of genuine Christianity in his heart discerns that saving one's soul is far from being the selfish procedure that the gentleman imagines. Possibly he confounds "soul" with "skin;" but the difference happens to be antipodal. No one saves his soul by saving his skin. This is axiomatic with Christianity as with common-sense. A peek into hagiography would prove much to a doubting Thomas. "He who loses his soul for my sake shall find it."

The Church indeed teaches self-sanctification, being mindful of what modern critics amazingly forget, viz., that the sum of the parts is equal to the whole. Noble individuals mean sound society; the greater the number of the noble, the firmer the social foundation of peace, charity and justice. The only differences between ecclesiastical ethics and those of today is that the former begin at the beginning and work out and up; the latter begin at the end and crush down. The former start with little, like the seed, and bear much fruit; the latter start with a scope and likely will end with a sigh.

A social program is drawn up and thrust in the face of the Church, with the abrupt injunction, "Preach this or perish." Let the voice of the clergy boom with demands that society lift the burden off the poor, with anathemas on the parasite and exploiter of the people, with invigorating advice as to the organization of the industries of peace.

Now it may be true, as Winston Churchill, in his unforgettable "Inside of the Cup" asserts, that churches have succumbed to the capitalistic class and, gorged with dollar bills, speak merely in muffled tones, if at all, on the rights of the masses. But the greatest society of them all, the Catholic, is able with many another to claim glorious exception to such ignominy. As the Deacon Lawrence of old gathered together the poor of the city and declared to his avaricious oppressor that these were his Church's wealth, so speaks the Catholic ecclesiastical voice today. From the humbler levels of society, her

noblest sons and daughters, her priests and Sisters, are chiefly recruited. From the gleaming Cathedral of St. Patrick to the poorest combination church and school in the negro missions, the dollars and zeal of the lowly are very responsible agents. The Church has not forgotten the humble; for the humble are the Church. The social plan, frantically being waved in her face, is pretty much of a superfluity.

The great error of present-day criticism of religion is its sweeping nature, its scorn of exceptions. In forgetfulness of fact and in considerable fealty to fancy, it generally makes sure to widen its loop sufficiently to take in Rome. Perchance, however, it does not occur to many reviewers that what may be true of the drifting sects is false of the stable section. The disunited portion of Christendom is not the better representative of Christian polity.

But it is not fair to charge even sectarian Christianity with doctrinal failure in the War. We are told by Judge Lindsey that the preachers over there were denouncing drinking, gambling and immorality, when the people were more rationally condemning the larger sins of cowardice, selfishness and egotism. If so, it is at least certain that ministerial mouths did not praise what the people disclaimed; far from that, the inference is that they must have done much to inspire the popular declamation. The corollary of temperance and continence is heroism and selfishness. Anyone can talk loudly about the larger virtues, but nobody possesses them deeply, permanently and purely except him who quietly practises the smaller ones. If it were only possible to produce a tree without a root, or a circle without a curve, Judge Lindsey's observations would be remarkably keen.

And we are naively informed that, because the Y. M. C. A., like the churches, preached the "selfish" rather than the social virtues, failure befell. Perhaps the Great War actually has shell-shocked the souls of some of our soldiers and made them think queerly of Christ and Christianity; such an effect, however, is bound to pass away when the refreshing stream of reason returns. But it is hardly convincing to charge up the unsucccess of the Y. M. C. A. to any such picturesque cause. Not so much because our boys disrelished religion did failure advene, as because they were impressed that this organization had no official right or duty, then and there, to preach at all. It was looked upon to comfort the bodies of our boys, and it rashly set about giving spiritual baths. Your fervid settlement-worker is apt to think that the quickest way to regenerate a slum family is to pin up one's skirt and proceed to action with a bar of soap. The lay apostles in France similarly essayed to lick the camps clean with their tongues. There was little wrong with the "Y" men perhaps; the fault was in the method. Spiritual privacy is as sacred as physical privacy, and more so. Our soldiers naturally resented this uncalled-for secular invasion of their souls. If they wished to be shriven they preferred to approach the genuine, duly authorized min-

isters of the word than to be approached by earnest amateurs. The indication is that the Y. M. C. A. failed, not because religion failed, but because the Y. M. C. A. failed to let religion alone. The Knights, on the contrary, did not impersonate priests; they mainly adhered to the modest purpose of administering creature comforts (God knows it was great and needed enough!) and achieved it. They were what they were, rang true, and won confidence and respect.

An organization, efficient in athletics, fails in religion. No logic can deduce from this that religion failed in itself. And again, logic is helpless to draw from the fact of the world's present awakening in a passion of social concern the conclusion that traditional Christianity is wrong or defunct. Today we are but witnessing a vivid triumph of the Christian churches. Formerly their ministers preached, but today their members are massively ardent to perform, the great Christian doctrine of justice. The seed is bearing much fruit. In accepting the fruit, shall we disallow the seed?

The Liturgy and Democracy

HENRY C. WATTS

IT is one of the curious anomalies of modern advanced democracy that the modern advanced democrats, as soon as they feel the power within their hands, proceed to uproot, as far as they are able, the only institution which successive eras of materialism and commercial efficiency have left to the people. They uproot or they try to destroy the Catholic Church. And it is by no means the least peculiar part of this tendency on the part of advanced democracy that in so far as it is successful in this endeavor, so far does it violate its own professed principles. An instance will make this clear.

This drive against the Church, which appears to be one of the tenets of advanced radicalism, aims, seemingly, at abolishing the priesthood as a class. It is not peculiar to any national complexion of radical. They all share it in common, whether they be French, Portuguese, Mexican, or other.

But this anti-clerical, anti-Church movement does not succeed in abolishing or suppressing the priesthood. What it does do, and that with an apparent amount of success, is to pass measures and enforce decrees prohibiting the exercise of public worship. But it fails to abolish the priesthood. It merely drives the priests under cover and into seclusion, and the character of the priesthood is thereby not extinguished, it is the more accentuated. The penal laws in Ireland, for example, utterly failed in extinguishing the priesthood, it grew and flourished in the atmosphere of suppression. And the result of this suppression is that among the Irish people the character of the priesthood is the more forcibly and indelibly fixed than among any other folk.

Wherever this attempt to suppress the Church, under the pretext of liberty, has been made, the result has been

practically the same. It closes the churches and puts the priest under a ban. And the result is what? The result is that the priests, whose downfall is the object sought, emerge from the trial immeasurably strengthened, whilst the rights of the people, for which the advanced democrat feels the utmost concern, are ruthlessly denied them. Collective worship, the most democratic thing in the history of the world, is made either a crime or a matter of police supervision.

This act of collective worship, the liturgy—that is, the liturgy of the Catholic Church—is an inalienable right of the people on very direct and simple grounds. It is their right not because it conforms to traditional and historic usages—that is merely one aspect of it that appeals to the ecclesiologists and the liturgiologists, and might be applied with an equally prescriptive right to Latin grammar or the mysteries of double-entry book-keeping. It is their right because it is the common highway of Heaven, the common lands, so to speak, and the pastures of the heavenly Jerusalem, and the common lands, so the ancient laws maintain, are the inalienable right of the people.

And this heavenly pasture is a perfect thing, although the students of liturgiology will detect a flaw here and an accretion there. And its perfection is not that Baldeschi approves it or that it is graced with the imprimatur of Benedict XIV. But its perfection is that it is a flawless and complete symbol; it is the meeting place wherein the Creator and His creatures meet as in a common society, the one mingling with the other as in friendly social intercourse. The author of the incomparable sequence for *Corpus Christi*, the *Lauda Sion*, saw this with an astounding clarity, and in the pageant of the Eucharist he beheld an action in which the partakers were

*"Cohaeredes et sodales
Fac sanctorum civium."*

He closed this wonderful poem with the democratic picture of men and women becoming "fellow heirs and boon companions of the heavenly citizens."

But having said that the liturgy is something intensely popular and intensely human; that it is something of and for the people, it is not on that account a thing that may be snatched at by the passer-by, by the man in the street, so to speak. The revelation of beauty is not to be perceived by any save those who have the vision. And so in the pageantry of the liturgy, it may well be nothing more than a meaningless and mumbling piece of ceremony unless a man see beyond the things seen, the things signified, unless, in short, he have the Catholic sense.

The Catholic sense is devotion. But it is something more than devotion; it is something that finds its way into art and literature, an inspiration that fires the craftsman and distinguishes his craft from all other. It is color; and it is life. In the many examples that have come down to us from the times when Catholic art flourished

most luxuriously, it will be noticed very conspicuously that the Catholic artists and craftsmen were influenced by two dominating principles; by their love for colors and their love for crowds. The museums are filled with painted reredoses and altar-pieces. And the medieval craftsmen who painted these were not benumbed by an esotericism in which every individual personality ultimately becomes merged in one personality, in a foggy Nirvana. They did not take the colors of the spectrum and merge them into one sad color that is every color and yet no color, as is the manner of the sad and melancholy Easterns. But with a riotous exuberance they splashed color beside color. They had, before the eye of their soul the Light of Light, the pure white Light, from which each color comes. Each was part of the One, yet each was individual and distinct.

And alongside with this diversity of color, this derivation from the Light of Light, was the crowd of human personalities. The eternal loneliness of the Oriental fatalists had no part in the scheme of the medieval craftsman. The sculptor who carved on a medieval Spanish pulpit the life story of St. Thecla could not conceive that she should be born, live, and suffer death in stark loneliness. So he graved the events of her life as taking place in the midst of a crowd, an action in which every witness had his share. In a world-famous collection of paintings the Saviour of the world could not tread the sorrowful Way of the Cross, but that he were accompanied by a devout and sympathizing band of Flemish burghers. The birth of the Blessed Virgin, the death of St. Joseph, the watch of the Shepherds in the fields, were all incomplete to these artists with the Catholic sense unless the common people were there in their crowds to witness.

And this sense of fellowship, this common interest, is perpetuated in the central and most solemn part of the Church's liturgical pageantry. As the moment of consecration approaches nearer and nearer in the Canon of the Mass, the celebrating priest calls upon the company of heaven, the Virgin Mother, the Apostles and Martyrs, the Popes, to hasten and take their part in the sublime action that is about to take place. Not even may the Eucharist be consecrated, save that the triumphant and the militant be there in company.

Thus are these things devised for the spiritual pleasure of the people, of the crowd, presenting a state where all are on the same footing. Yet here is no mean level of equality, where the man is as good as his master. Let him that is great among you become as the least, could have no sanction in a sphere where there were no greater and no least. But the beggar walks in heavenly places beside the king, and princes and peasants yet in the flesh call upon them, *Ora pro nobis*.

So the liturgy stands, an adventure of great joy along heavenly pathways, whereon are enacted the stages of sacred history. It is the peoples' right, coming beauti-

fully and gloriously bedecked from Him who did not disdain to be called the Son of Man. And when this shall be taken from the people then shall they be bereft of the only liberty, fraternity and equality they have, for the doors shall be shut and fast bolted, and the blackest of all tyrannies will try to withhold from them their right to be

*"Cohaeredit et sodales
Fac sanctorum civium."*

But this blackest of all tyrannies will fail, for God reigns.

La Madonna del Paradiso

AUSTIN O'MALLEY, M.D.

THE Italians at present are gesticulating toward Fiume and the Dalmatian littoral, and that fact reminds one of the *Madonna del Paradiso*, whose picture was translated from Dalmatia to Central Italy long ago. This picture is better known here as the *Madonna del Buon Consiglio*. It is at Genazzano, some forty miles back from Rome, in the Sabine Hills.

The route to Genazzano is from Rome across the Campagna past Palestrina, which is on the ancient Via Labicana at the rising of the Apennines. Palestrina, the Latin Praeneste, was a stronghold of the Colonnas in the Middle Ages, and the steep hill shaped like a Gaulish conical helmet, upon the slope of which the town lies, is crested with the hamlet of Castel San Pietro. It is difficult to understand how Castel San Pietro persists as a human dwelling-place, one might just as well live on the summit of a factory smokestack. You can walk across Palestrina from the Porta del Sole to the western gate in ten minutes but when I knew that countryside, over forty years ago, it had a cardinal archbishop, a coadjutor bishop, a cathedral chapter, a seminary, monasteries of Franciscans, Trinitarians, Carmelites and Capuchins, several murders weekly, and the natives were barbarians like the medieval Colonna *condottieri*.

Across the flat valley to the south the Alban Hills run westward as a wooded spur, but about Palestrina are bare crags, through which the goatherds wander playing melodies on their pipes that were ancient before Rome was built, and every summer evening scumbles over these mountains with a deep purple haze. The white plume of a distant railway train at long intervals floats and fades over near Valmontone where the toothed mountain-line holds up velvety shadows in sudden ravines as the chain winds down toward the white *Terra di Lavoro*.

Behind the hills of Valmontone is hidden Anagni; Dante's Alagna, where in 1303, Sciarra Colona and his banditti rode from Palestrina under the banner of France and sacrilegiously seized Pope Boniface VIII, one of the greatest men Rome ever saw.

*"Veggio in Alagna entrar lo fiordaliso,
E nel Vicario suo Cristi esser catto." (Pur. XX.)*

When I knew those hills the thin smoke of olive orchards lay upon their slopes, while the grape vines clung in festoons from gnarled bole to bole. A still country it was. At night when the moon was burnished, ghostly white owls flitted through the trees and vanished, but the sunlit hedges were without music. The only sounds were the jangle of clustered bells on the wine-carts, creeping westward where Rome shimmered faintly near the skyline, the rustle of great green lizards in the dry grass, the clanging of a vesper bell in a monastery turret, or the unabashed *recitativo* of a vine-dresser with vocal illusions.

Beyond Palestrina the narrow trail clings to the mountain-

side for about three miles up to the gate of Cave, a hamlet set on the crest of a ridge. The houses huddle side by side there for protection, with nose to the single piazza, and tail to the outside, as a drove of bronchos bunch against the driving rain. About three more miles beyond Cave you turn away to the left from the main road and go up a ravine to Genazzano. There is a great rock left in this eroded gulch, with a Colonna castle at the end of the world, and Genazzano is clustered about the old brigand's keep. Pope Martin V, Odo Colonna, one of the seventeen Cardinals of that family, was born in this hawk's eerie. He was Pope at the time of the Council of Constance when they treated the Czechish heretics Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague so warmly. The village now is noted for the shrine of the *Madonna del Paradiso*, Our Lady of Good Counsel.

The last time I went under the barbican at the southern gate I saw a large wooden tray filled with a bushel of figs drying in the sun near the open door of a dwelling. A black pig wandered down the sloping street, like the devil seeking what it might devour. They call such a pig a *dindarola*, a savings bank. One puts saved pennies into it in the shape of food, and after the vintage the bank is opened and the proceeds used to pay the rent to Colonna, or Barberini, or whatever overlord has been taking rent since Romulus drank wolf's milk. *La Dindarola* saw the figs; she put her moist snout under the tray, and a heave of her head overset the figs into the street. With great rapidity, owing to a guilty dread of interruption, she interned the fruit. Within a few seconds the woman of the house rushed out screaming; the pig fled precipitately with startled tail uncurled, and I wish I could speak Italian with half the torrential fluency that woman used in her discourse on all pigs and their owners to the third generation.

Near the gate is a wind which leads up the hillside to a church of St. Catherine of Alexandria, the patroness of philosophers; she that was martyred by Maximin, and was taken in the hollow of St. Michael's shield beyond the Red Sea and laid in peace near Mount Nebo, where Moses rests, above the spirit bells of the Desert of Zin. In her church at Genazzano on one of the altars was a new painting, representing a maniacal woman, falling with trailing hair like a dead comet, through a throng of demons with evil faces taken from Botticelli's imaginings. While I was trying to make out what the picture meant an old Franciscan friar came along. I asked him who was guilty of the nightmare. The old man gazed upon the picture in loving admiration and said, "That was made for us last year by an American artist, a woman from Boston. It's St. Catherine." Then he added, "The artist was a heretic." She certainly was.

They celebrate the feast of the *Madonna del Paradiso* in Genazzano on September 8, and the peasants used to gather there from all the hill hamlets. The women of each village had a peculiar costume, the main distinctions of which were in the headdress and the colors of the apron. These women came in procession from places some of which were twelve miles distant, chanting hymns and telling the beads, and all went to the church of the *Madonna del Paradiso*.

An old but unfounded legend has it that a certain old woman of Genazzano longed to see therein a great temple in honor of the *Madonna Santissima*. She took all the savings of her hard lifetime, and engaged a great Roman architect to make the plans. She started the building, but when the foundation was finished, the bottom of her money bag suddenly and unexpectedly appeared, and the work stopped. The neighbors made the customary obvious remarks. The old woman, however, was not worried. She asserted the Madonna would finish the work.

Over across the Adriatic in Dalmatia there was an ancient Greek picture of Our Lady and Her Babe. It was a fresco

on the wall of a little shrine, and the folk there had great devotion in the presence of this picture. One night some of them saw a strange white light above the shrine, and presently the light arose and drifted away into the west under the silver sickle of a new moon lying there forgotten on the meadow of the sky. They hurried to the shrine, and found that their picture of the Madonna had disappeared. Some of them left their homes and crossed the sea in search of the lost Madonna, following the light as the Magi followed the star. Another night people sitting at their doorstep on the little piazza of Genazzano, near the abandoned church foundation saw a great light in the east, and it came and stood above the "old woman's folly." When they took courage at last to go near the light they found the Greek picture from Dalmatia. The church was straightway finished.

When the Cardinal of Palestrina came out to consecrate the basilica, and the dim arches were fragrant with drifting incense-smoke above the kneeling throng, and He that was slain was lifted up, down by the door the old woman stole in noiselessly, with her rosary twined about her thin white hands, and she knelt in the shadows. Then the *Madonna Santissima* came down from the Rose of the Blessed, and she put her hand on the old woman's head, and she and the old woman wept together contentedly in the lane of the blazing altar lights. *Nunc dimittis, Domine!*

The Dalmatians came along at last to Genazzano and claimed their picture but the people of Genazzano would not give it up. Thereupon the strangers settled near the church, and their descendants are in the town to this day. They are called Saraceni. I knew one of them. The picture is small, about the size of an octavo page. It is placed in a rich shrine, and the whole altar is enclosed in a wrought-iron cage. Below the picture is a row of gold prize medals won by students in the Roman universities. There is a medal there, won, at an examination in metaphysics, by Luigi Gonzaga, a student in the Gregorian University—St. Aloysius. Evidently he too must have knelt before that shrine of the *Madonna del Paradiso*.

The shrine is at the gospel side of the main altar, and on the epistle side of the church there is a fresco of a crucifixion with several holes in it. Below it is a sixteenth-century rapier, bent and rusty. This sword once belonged to a Colonna bravo, who in a tavern across the piazza, had gambled away all his possessions. In a fit of despair he ran into the church and before this picture of the crucifixion he blasphemously charged God with the authorship of his misfortune. Then he drew his sword and stabbed the crucifix. Blood gushed from the holes he made. His bent sword rattled on the pavement, and he ran toward the door screaming in horror. There stood two of his companions, who had followed him, and had seen the sacrilege. They hacked him to pieces before the Lord.

The September day in 1880, when I last was in the church of Genazzano it was crowded by peasants. Before the shrine stood, two by two, a line of women from one of the mountain villages, praying and chanting hymns. Seated upon the step of the iron cage before the shrine was a very old woman. She was blind, and she was saying her rosary and not conscious of the throng. Presently a woman at the head of the line noticed the old blind beadswoman. She turned to her companion and said, "Let us pray that this old woman get back her sight." The women prayed and sang hymns, and prayed again, but the old woman paid no heed to them. After a while the woman who had made the suggestion began to expostulate with the Madonna. "We live far up in the mountain, as thou very well knowest, it is growing late; we must go home to our children; give this woman her sight, and let us be off!" Nothing happened.

After another interval the women went over to the main altar, and the precentor called up to the tabernacle: "Lord, make the Madonna give this old woman her sight. We cannot

be staying here all night." They went back to the shrine and again prayed. I left the shrine while they were praying. An American Augustinian priest, whom I had seen in the church at the time, met me the next day in Palestrina. He said, "Those women and their peculiar prayers interested me. I remained there after you left, and the old woman *did* get her sight. I saw the miracle myself." That is his story. Take it or leave it—I take it.

COMMUNICATIONS

(Letters as a rule should not exceed six-hundred words.)

Ecuador and the Pope in 1870

To the Editor of AMERICA:

The scientific expedition about to set out from the United States for Ecuador to pursue geographical and geological investigations in the region of the western Andes, leading as it naturally does to an increase of interest in this small republic, serves as well to recall to the minds of students of South American history a certain honorable incident in the annals of the far-off land. And while the affair in question has been often enough recited, perhaps American Catholics are not so well versed in the history of the Church in that part of the world as to render superfluous a repetition here. I refer to the fact that, possibly alone of all the nations of the earth, Ecuador was brave enough to raise her voice in official and solemn protest against the spoliation of the Papal States when the Piedmontese troops entered Rome in 1870.

In that year Gabriel Garcia Moreno was serving his second term as one of the best Presidents any South American country ever had and certainly the best of all those who have ruled over Ecuador. His strong policy and shrewd business-like methods had brought his country safely through some grave trials and considerably enhanced its material prosperity; but above and beyond this he had fostered the growth of the Church and respect for the moral law not only in his official capacity but, in a more potent and striking way, by the force of personal example. In fact the record of his administrations is not unworthy of comparison with the reigns of St. Stephen and St. Louis, and at no time in his career was the resemblance closer than during the years when the temporal power of the Papacy was verging on extinction. Though Ecuador was a comparatively unimportant country, remote from the scene of the tragedy and containing within its own borders much to occupy the attention of its people, Moreno could not suffer such an event to pass without manifesting the indignation of his Government and himself. One of his life-long desires had been to visit Rome and pay homage to the Holy Father in person; and this desire, not destined to be fulfilled, was so strong as to move him to write to a friend in Rome: "I envy your happiness in kissing the feet of the Vicar of Christ and in conversing with him—him whom I love more than my father, since for him, for his defense, for his liberty, I would give even the life of my son." Those acquainted with his history will not suspect these words of exaggeration, for simplicity and directness of utterance were among his most strongly-marked characteristics. But even were such a suspicion to arise it would be dispelled by his action when the news came that Victor Emmanuel had entered Rome. With an eye ever on European and especially Papal affairs he had kept himself fully informed of the progress of events that culminated in the almost complete destruction of the Papacy as a secular power, so when that was accomplished it was no surprise to him, as he had long foreseen it. But what he had not foreseen and what he in consequence contemplated with painful astonishment was the apparent apathy of the Catholic world. France might be excused, for she was then in the blackness of

the Prussian war; but how palliate the silence of the other "Catholic" Powers? Moreno waited for some one to speak and then, having waited in vain, he resolved that Ecuador, weak and distant though she was, should not be voiceless. Accordingly he addressed to the Ministry of Victor Emmanuel a lengthy protest containing the following splendid passage:

The Government of Ecuador, in spite of its weakness and the immense distance which separates it from the Old World, fulfills its duty of protesting, as it does protest, before God and before men, in the name of outraged justice, in the name above all of the Catholic people of Ecuador, against the iniquitous invasion of Rome and the imprisonment of the Sovereign Pontiff, in spite of insidious promises, always repeated and always violated, and notwithstanding the absurd guarantees of independence by means of which it is intended to disguise the ignominious servitude of the Church.

Besides sending this to Italy copies were forwarded to all the Governments of America, asking that they join in protesting against what he called "the violent and unjust occupation of Rome." Of course they did not do so, but that did not cool his ardor. Having spoken he proceeded to act; and presently a special commission was on its way to present to the Holy Father the sum of \$10,000 voted by the Ecuadorean Congress as "a feeble offering from our little Republic." The glowing reply of Pope Pius IX contained a tribute such as few even of the most saintly rulers of the Middle Ages have received from the Vicar of Christ.

As far as I know Ecuador has this honor all to herself, though it may be that readers of AMERICA can tell of some other State that was not afraid to stand by the Pope in his hour of need. Let us hope so; for while I would not deprive the "little Republic" of one jot of her glory, I do not like to think that such truly Christian courage was hers alone.

Dunwoodie, N. Y.

EDWIN RYAN.

A Temporary Solution

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Nothing impresses one so much with the value or necessity of one or more Catholic daily newspapers as the fact that we read so little in the secular papers of such matters as the Bishops' labor program and other highly interesting topics that would attract Catholic readers in great numbers. To judge by the press generally such questions are not of sufficient importance to be given space. I hold the daily press in the highest esteem in spite of occasional signs of vicious tendencies, and have always thought that the majority of the newspaper writers are broad-minded enough to give news of Catholic interest proper and generous publicity. Lately, however, I seem to discern a yellow streak of bigotry that causes the dailies to forget or ignore the fact that they have any Catholic readers. Matters concerning Ireland and the Irish question seem to be a dead issue, to judge by their columns. It would be easy to cite a number of important questions that were given less space than some common street brawl.

Although I fully grant the need of a Catholic daily newspaper, I am not so optimistic about the prospect as some of your contributors seem to be. There is one most vital point that has been overlooked in their communications and articles, and therefore I am pleased to read and agree with Charlotte Kelly when she writes in AMERICA for March 29: "It would not be an easy matter to persuade those who have grown attached to some special daily to replace it with a Catholic daily." That, I take it, is the crux of the whole situation. Take my own case. For nearly forty years I have constantly read a certain New York daily, and although I have often differed from its policy, I have always found it to be reasonably clean, and to my mind an ideal newspaper. I should want to find a good substitute before

giving it up. A wonderful and far-reaching power for good a Catholic daily journal in New York would be, but it is such a gigantic undertaking that I am afraid I shall never see it. To get it well on its way, with a solid foundation, would take a mint of money and prove a great financial burden. It was tried about thirty-five years ago in New York and failed. The other suggestion therefore to get a column of "Ours" in the daily or weeklies is a very wise and timely one and would be at least a temporary solution of a momentous question. I have in mind an instance of this plan of printing not only a column but a whole Catholic page in a Sunday paper, to the entire satisfaction of the publishers. Mr. James Sweeney, who in addition to being the editor of this page of the Paterson *Sunday Chronicle*, is also the advertising manager of a great banking institution, has made it so attractive that often it runs several columns over the page, and what is more, the page has proved of such interest that our divided brethren of the local ministers' association as well as some other persons have entered vigorous but useless protests against the printing of these pages and columns.

New York.

F. A. HUBER.

Cancellation vs. Repudiation

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Not by way of satisfaction that my prophecy has come true, but as a warning to the American people, do I hark back to my article, "Cancellation vs. Repudiation," in AMERICA of December 15, 1917, in which appears the following touching on indemnities:

What, then, is best for us to do, for ourselves and for the Allied nations? Make Germany assume the burden? There would be no better way of insuring her "place in the sun." Her industries would have to be prosperous beyond vision to accomplish it. The more we successfully demanded, the more extensive her industries would be. In fact, our financiers would then be more interested in her prosperity than in our own, so that she might be able to pay the bill.

In the New York *Sun* of April 17, 1919, a paragraph in the editorial, "How Germany Will Pay," reads as follows:

The Allies are not going to strip Germany of the productive agencies left in Germany. They are not going to make it impossible for the German people to resume production. The Allies are going to put the German people on their industrial feet again. They are going to help the German people to recreate an annual production which again shall flood in rivers from the fields, the mines, the forests and the factories to support the German people and to pay instalments on the reparation at one and the same time.

It is only by the creation of Bolshevism in other countries that Germany will be able to pay indemnities to those countries. It is to the interest of capitalists with great foreign security-holdings to have temporary Bolshevism and unemployment in the United States, England and France; otherwise it is not possible for Germany to pay an indemnity. It is evident that it pays the capitalist internationalists "to put the German people on their industrial feet again," rather than to give assistance in getting the soldiers of their respective countries back in productive employment. In fact, full employment for the soldiers of the allied nations is not compatible with receiving an indemnity from Germany.

Providence.

M. P. CONNERY.

Constructive Support of the Bishops' Program

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Several letters, among your communications, on "Watching Legislation," have recently attracted my attention. These letters got as far as to offer some more or less practicable suggestions,

and that was all. In so far as they will result in no positive action they reflect what seems to be the accepted attitude of the Catholics in this country. I believe we are convicting ourselves of a reputation of being hypercritics and obstructionists. Negation seems to be our policy. We sit with folded hands, in the face of evident abuses, until some one else initiates a much-needed reform; whereupon we indignantly mobilize our logic and our pens and proceed to do violence to the novel idea. Or, at best, we do as the writers of "Watching Legislation" have done—offer some well-meant suggestions that promptly appear in print as evidence of Catholic progressiveness, and are as promptly forgotten. Bluntly, the most of us are "knockers"; some few of us are "proposers"; but those of us who are "doers" are negligible. Instead of taking the offensive ourselves, we wait for the other fellow to do it and then tell him where he is wrong.

The foremost step in constructive activity in the last decade is the Bishops' program on "Social Reconstruction." Commendation has been showered upon it from all quarters as being a masterly platform. It affords the Catholics a wonderful opportunity to *construct*, to build up a mighty superstructure upon its broad and sufficient foundation. It will no doubt be of interest to the readers of your admirable paper to know how the Catholics of Cincinnati are giving practical effect to the Bishops' program. Under the approval of his Grace, Archbishop Moeller, a joint legislative committee of Catholic societies was recently organized. The societies having representation are the Archdiocesan Union of Holy Name Societies, Catholic Knights of America, Catholic Knights of Ohio, Catholic Ladies of Columbia, Catholic Union of Ohio, Catholic Women's Association, Cincinnati Chapter of the Knights of Columbus, and Hamilton County Federation of Catholic Societies. Father Joseph Reiner, Regent of the Department of Commerce of Sociology at St. Xavier College, was elected temporary chairman, and the writer of this letter temporary secretary.

It is the purpose of this committee to keep Catholics informed of pending bills that are favorable or inimical to the best interests of State and Church and to obtain for them accordingly either their support or their opposition. This, however, is only a minor part of the work. The committee will go a step farther and make efforts to initiate legislation in accord with the principles and suggestions of "Social Reconstruction."

Working hand in hand with the Consumers' League, we have had introduced into the current session of the State Legislature a minimum-wage law for women workers, the purpose of which is to protect the health, morals and welfare of women employed in the industries. This is making effective the following principle from "Social Reconstruction": "The several States should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage rates that will be at least . . . adequate to the decent, individual support of female workers."

The committee is at present addressing itself to Catholics and non-Catholics throughout the State, and soliciting their whole-hearted support. It has appeared before the local delegation of assemblymen to urge the enactment of the bill. It has supported during the previous weeks legislation tending to promote the best interests of women and minors in industry. It has supported bills regulating the occupation of children at street trades, providing for compulsory fire-drills in factories, and prohibiting the employment of women at certain occupations. Withal, the committee is not quite one month old. We have accomplished something; we will accomplish more. And our chief pride lies in the fact that our work is sanely *constructive*.

Cincinnati.

CHAS. H. PURDY,
Secretary, Pro Tem.

The Joint Legislative Committee of Catholic Societies.

The Smith Bill

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I have read the letter of S. B. F. in AMERICA for March 1 and I hesitate to inflict upon your readers the details of the activities of the Federations and other kindred organizations in England when the obnoxious education bills were presented in Parliament. My sole reason for doing this is the hope that what the small number of Catholics in this country were able to do by vigorous action may be accomplished by the large body of Catholics in the United States.

In the year 1908 an education bill was brought in by the Minister for Education, Mr. Reginald McKenna, and under this bill the rate-aid and full control given to Catholic schools in 1902 were to be withdrawn in order to satisfy the Non-Conformist, so called, conscience.

Seeing the danger of this attack on our schools there was a call to arms throughout this country and the Westminster Catholic Federation issued a stirring appeal for funds, signed by the then chairman, the Hon. Charles Russell, now the Hon. Sir Charles Russell, Bart., called the "War Chest Fund." Steps were taken to obtain the assistance of some expert writers, who drafted handbills and so on. These were printed and circulated broadcast throughout the country. Sets of five handbills, some pictorial, were posted to every peer, member of Parliament, justice of the peace, members of Boards of Guardians, members of parish councils and other bodies, editors of all newspapers in the country, and in other directions. Meetings were arranged and held in most of the towns, cities and villages in the country, and large demonstrations took place in populous centers throughout England. To crown all a gigantic meeting or demonstration of Catholics took place at the Albert Hall, London, when about 50,000 Catholics took part. At all these meetings and demonstrations strong and vigorously worded resolutions were passed and sent to the Government, and members of Parliament were interviewed or communicated with by Catholics in all districts.

The result of all this strenuous activity on the part of Catholics had the desired result and the bill was killed. Two other attempts were made and these met with the same fate.

Now I would most respectfully urge that if this could be accomplished in a country like this with comparatively a handful of Catholics, what ought the mighty force of Catholics do in the United States? I hope therefore that S. B. F.'s idea will be carried out.

London.

W. P. MARA.

American Sympathy With Struggles for Freedom

To the Editor of America:

Senator Lodge's words of a quarter of a century ago, as quoted in AMERICA for March 1, "The American spirit is sympathy with any nation struggling for freedom," have been the occasion of my studying up the question. A characteristic of Americans is love of liberty and interest in popular government. It has undergone various phases according as this country grew in territory and power. The following will show its development in history from the utterances of our Presidents and the official representatives of the people.

The first stage was the desire to gain liberty for ourselves. When the Republic was in its infancy our leaders appealed not only to Canada and Ireland, but also to the Liberals in France, the Netherlands and even in England. The aid of Europeans enabled us to make good our Declaration of Independence.

The second stage was sympathy for other republics. In the beginning the attitude of most Americans was that of kindly feeling for the first French Republic. Washington expressed his sympathy for "the commencement, progress and issue of the French Revolution." (Moore, International Law Digest VI, 45). Monroe's annual message to Congress, 1822, expressed in clear language American good-will towards liberal movements across

the Atlantic, especially the Greek struggle for independence. At the time our nation was too weak to contend against the monarchies of Europe, especially the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia and Russia, which had been framed to uphold autocracy by suppressing any democratic uprising.

The third phase was recognition of new popular governments. As soon as the South American States were able to maintain their independence against the mother country, they were recognized by the United States. In 1823 the *starting point* of the Monroe Doctrine sounded the death knell of autocratic extension in this hemisphere. In 1848 Mr. Donelson was authorized by the President "to proceed to Frankfurt, and there as the diplomatic representative of the United States, to recognize the Provisional Government of the new German Confederation; provided you shall find such a Government in successful operation." The supporters of German liberty, like Carl Schurz and others, were welcomed in our country. In 1849 President Taylor declared he had thought it his duty "in accordance with the general sentiment of the American people upon the establishment by her of a permanent government, to be the first to welcome Hungary into the family of nations." (Moore, International Law Digest, 72). When Kossuth arrived in Washington, he was formally received by the President and both Houses. In 1849 our Minister in Paris took the lead in recognizing the French Republic, and in 1870 our Government gave speedy recognition to the reestablishment of democracy in France. During the Great War we were the first to do the same for the Republic of Russia.

The latest development was America's fighting for democracy abroad. We went to war "for the liberation of the people of the world, the German people included; for the rights of nations great and small. . . The world must be made safe for democracy." (Wilson's message to Congress, April 2, 1917).

From what has been said above, it is hard to understand why the press of America, with few exceptions, although expressing interest in the new States of Poles and Slavs, has either ignored the question of Irish independence or supported England's unjust claims. Is their faith in popular government decadent? Such an attitude, to say the least, is un-American.

Galveston, Tex.

A. L. MAUREAU, S. J.

Public Agitation

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Many able articles have appeared in the AMERICA from the pen of Father Blakely on the Hoke Smith education bill; but to what purpose? Who reads the articles? Many priests, some doctors and Catholic literati, it is true, but what effect have they on the public vote? And it is the vote that counts in this country. Similarly we have read masterly logic about the Prohibition question from many pens in Catholic weeklies, and yet the public was not much affected by these essays; in neither case were the essays vote-getters. The public press is often liberal in its praise of the pronouncements of Catholic dignitaries and will give them ample space, when the pronouncements accord with the prevalent sentiment or fad of the day, but not otherwise. Witness the action of the Maryland legislature notwithstanding Cardinal Gibbons' address on Prohibition. What his Eminence said got two days' space in the newspapers; as the fanatics and time-servers did not expect further effect in the way of votes or agitation, they cared little for his unequalled experience of men and measures, for his venerable years and well-known public spirit on all large American matters.

Father Blakely and others might as well be driving tacks into an earthen floor as be discussing these matters in Catholic weeklies exclusively. If you want to reach the public on the Smith bill, the Prohibition situation, or such questions, go into the daily press and stick to it, at the same time not ignoring our excellent Catholic weekly and monthly papers. This use of the daily press is not exclusively, or even preferably, the duty of

clergymen; the need is of men, lay or clerical, who will stand forward and without apology for their position, maintain justice and equity in the open arena, who will not hesitate to "call a spade a spade" even though in so doing they may be extolling their own side or it may be extolling themselves.

The average American is not enamored of self-abasement; he has more confidence in the man who will "speak out in meeting." There may be many such defenders of truth in large centers. I am told that the secular press will not give space for more than 250 or 300 words, and that therefore it is practically a closed channel since large questions cannot be handled within such narrow limits. What then becomes of the learned papers we read in the AMERICA about the availability, one might say the desire, of secular newspapers for the Catholic view of public questions and consequently the utter folly of "Catholic dailies"!

It is said that the American public is fair and just, but how is the general public to know your grievance, unless you cry out with a loud sustained voice, indeed with the voice of many voters, not the piping of a few who fear lest they be accused of mixing religion and politics? It is not a question of mixing religion and politics, it is a matter of natural right, in this case, of liberty of conscience.

The public has been informed by high national authorities that about one-third of the fighting force in the war just closing was Catholic. Would it not be strange; if, after fighting for the freedom of mankind, these same soldiers and sailors should find themselves deprived of freedom of worship at home through the operation of Prohibition laws? What has been said of Prohibition matters applies to the Smith bill.

New York.

EDWARD J. LYNCH.

Magazine Propaganda of Prohibition

To the Editor of AMERICA:

A singular change has come over the heroes of thrilling stories in the popular magazines. It dates from about a year back. The heroes all make a point of drinking strong tea, lemonade, fruit punches and such heroic tipples. Perhaps the story-writers recognize in this a new mark of heroism. Moreover there appears at frequent intervals, now in one magazine, now in another, a more or less, usually less, camouflaged propaganda story against the use of drink. If public opinion is at all readable, clearly the public is not paying to have them written. When the public does not pay to have them written, it does not pay the publishers to have them printed. Yet, of a certainty, the publishers are not printing stories out of a fervent philanthropy, nor out of a pure desire to forward Prohibition, at a pecuniary loss. The question naturally arises in one's mind, "Who is furnishing the money and doing the paying?" The answer might be interesting and throw some glorious light on the men behind Prohibition, who are keeping so modestly in the shadow.

Baltimore.

J. M. PRENDERGAST.

A Book to Be Shunned

To the Editor of AMERICA:

I wish to call the attention of your readers to the following book: "Pictures Every Child Should Know," by Dolores Bacon, published by Doubleday, Page & Co. It is very much to be regretted that the author has not approached the subject as it should have been approached when writing for children, but has allowed a spirit of bigotry to get the better part of her judgment. The book, for the most part, is interestingly written in spite of some useless repetitions and a careless style, which may indicate hasty work.

The objectionable parts are found: (1) on page 23, where there is an attack on the character of Pope Leo X, too unsavory to be quoted here. Has Dolores Bacon read what Pastor, the great authority on the lives of the Popes, says about Leo X? "Concerning the morals [of Leo X], he enjoyed as a Cardinal

an absolutely stainless reputation, there exists no proof that he lived differently as a Pope." (2) On page 28, it is said that a certain "Torregiano was banished and murdered by the Spanish Inquisition." This bugbear about the Spanish Inquisition has often been refuted. (3) On page 363, it is stated concerning the famous picture of the "Last Supper" by Leonardo da Vinci, that "it was the first painted story of this legendary event." Again on page 364: "We look into a room and seem to behold the greatest tragedy of legendary history." This is a sample of the way the pictures are explained to children, history taught them, distrust and hatred of religion instilled in their hearts.

Either Dolores Bacon is ignorant or unfair, in either case she is unfit to teach children. Another reproach which may be brought against the book is the choice of certain pictures such as "Spring" by Botticelli, called also the "Realm of Venus," a better title for this picture, a critic tells us.

I have not read any other book of this series, of which several have been written by Dolores Bacon. If they are composed in the same spirit, they must not be allowed to find their way into our schools or libraries.

New York.

J. BRUYÈRE.

America and Good Friday

To the Editor of AMERICA:

President Lincoln was assassinated on Good Friday while attending a theatrical performance in Ford's theater. The United States entered the World-War on Good Friday, 1917, and here is the official program for the observance of Good Friday, 1919, by the American army of occupation in Coblenz, Germany:

Friday morning Mr. Daniels will review the entire division at Vallendar and will decorate hundreds of men with American and French medals for bravery. After the ceremony, there will be a luncheon in the castle occupied by Major General John L. Hines, commanding the third corps. In the afternoon the sham battle will take place and this will be followed by a banquet and an evening reception which will be attended by all the officers of the division.

Perhaps the officer did not think of Good Friday, and it was, therefore, only a case where ignorance is bliss. But there was a time, not so many years ago, though before the World-War, when the ships of all Christian nations flew their flags at half mast on Good Friday in honor of Him who on that day died for all men. But the incident referred to suggests the words of the Psalmist: "They said in their hearts, the whole kindred of them: Let us abolish all the festival days of God from the land."

White Bear Lake, Minn.

WM. F. MARKOE.

A Correction Needing Correction

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Attention was drawn by AMERICA recently to some curious biographical details concerning the late Cardinal Farley that were printed in a periodical published in Dublin. This is how, in its March number, it made "A Correction", of the previous statements:

Owing to a regrettable oversight in translating a passage from the French number of the *Bulletin*, it was stated in our December issue that the late Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, was of Irish birth. The sentence should have read: "Cardinal Farley was of Irish origin." As a wrong inference might be drawn from the incorrect statement which appeared, this opportunity is availed of to correct the error. —Editor.

Probably by this time the editor has heard from the residents of the little town of Newton Hamilton, County Amagh, what they think there of this second attempt to deprive them of the local fame of having given to New York our second Cardinal and fourth Archbishop. But why do Catholics insist on mutilating history?

New York.

M. F. T.

A M E R I C A

A · CATHOLIC · REVIEW · OF · THE · WEEK

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1919

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Mrs. O'Grady and the Moving-Picture

A DEPUTY POLICE COMMISSIONER in New York, Mrs. Ellen O'Grady, has recently aroused the wrath of the Jews and the near-Catholics in the trade by her denunciation of the moving-pictures shown in New York. "You may as well close up your schools and churches," warns Mrs. O'Grady, "if you continue to permit children to see these films. I am in a position to know that young people are ruined by them." Of course Mrs. O'Grady was attacked by the newspapers, but as the New York newspapers share in these wages of sin, their denunciation is rather a proof of the correctness of Mrs. O'Grady's criticism. She is also right when she says that many moving-pictures exhibited in New York, and throughout the country for that matter, "are a bitter reproach to the public sense of decency and to our alleged civilization." The protestation of the producers that they are highly moral persons whose sole desire is to refine the manners and promote the morality of the young and of the community in general, will not, in face of the facts, deceive even a low-grade moron. The producers are in the business for money and for nothing else, and experience has shown that only the club of the law will restrain some producers from the commercialization of vice.

Such protestations can mean nothing, except to the extent that they are an insult to any intelligent observer. At the very time that a leading producer in Chicago was affirming his intense desire to jail every man who dared to show an improper film, the Chicago "trade" was publishing a circular urging the theatrical managers "to give special prominence to the still pictures" of scenes which cannot here be described. Another degraded method used by the theaters and urged by a trade magazine is thus described by Mr. W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor:

In the *Moving Picture World* of April 19, 1919, startling editorial advice is offered to moving-picture establishments concerning methods of securing patronage for a photoplay

entitled, "Bolshevism on Trial." I call your attention to the following quotation from the editorial in question: "Run an extra show at night. Have a special showing for the school children. Work all of the crowd stunts. Then put up red flags about town, and hire soldiers to tear them down if necessary and then come out with a flaming handbill explaining that the play is not an argument for anarchy. Work the limit on this, and you will not only clean up on this, but profit by future business."

Secretary Wilson's comment is that he has never seen more dangerous advice, especially at a time when there is much unrest in the country, and men are struggling to "meet the serious problems that have arisen from the war."

This publication proposes by deceptive methods of advertising to stir every community in the United States into riotous demonstrations, for the purpose of making profits for the moving-picture business and the owners of this particular picture-play.

The producers and the managers will answer further criticism with greater effectiveness only after they have cleaned house. But when will they learn that commercialized disorder and vice is always a losing game?

Is Ours a Free Government?

IN a public address made some weeks ago, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler said very truly that the growing control by governmental bureaucrats of affairs with which they have no concern, is paving the way in this country to "Prussianism." It is not denied that many things may be done and should be done, during a war period, which cannot be done except by tyranny, in time of peace. Congress, acting under the plain provisions of the Constitution, has always willingly made extraordinary grants to the Federal Government, for war purposes. But governments relinquish with difficulty powers once assumed, and this Government of ours is not wholly an exception. At the present time there is serious danger to those primal notions of American government on which in large measure, the peace of the Church in this country and of the State itself, depends. This danger arises from flushed and arrogant factions, which demand a continuance in peace time, and even an extension, of the vast powers entrusted to the Government for war purposes only. Their contention fairly equals, if it does not exceed, anything yet attributed to Prussian theories of government. Translated into fact, it will mean that the American citizen is no longer "an uncrowned king," but merely a cog in a political machine. It will mean that every force at work in the community, religion included, will be considered as subordinate to some department of State. It is a contention for the re-establishment of one of the most hateful necessities of paganism, the worship of the omnipotent State.

Because of the war, it was thought fit that the railroads, the express companies, the telegraph and the telephone, be taken over by the Government. There was nothing alarming in the assumption. It was a war measure simply, to endure for the period of hostilities, and

was so accepted by every loyal American. But if it is to be made permanent there is ground for serious alarm. With every means of transportation and intercommunication, the railroads, namely, the mail, the express and the wires, controlled by the Government, we shall have at Washington all the machinery for a Federal censorship of the press, that enemy to free government so feared by the framers of the Constitution that they forbade its establishment by Congress. Bureaucrats mismanaging the railroads could bar from the mails all but the kept governmental press. By their control of the mails, the cables, the telegraph and the telephone, it would be in their power to forbid the transmission of news, or of a citizen's lawful and honest criticism of any public official, or to delay its transmission so as to rob it of its immediate effect, or color or change it as they thought fit.

It is idle to say that these things would never happen. There is grave reason to believe that some of them have already happened. This may or may not be excused by the exigencies of war, but no American desires that the possibility of a repetition be continued beyond the termination of the war. A news article arranged some weeks ago by the *New York World*, containing a criticism of the Postmaster General, was refused by the managers of the telegraph companies, subordinates of the Postmaster General, on the ground that it was "improper." Possibly it was. But is the criticized official's own department to be judge, jury and hangman?

If we are not willing to set up a censorship of news and legitimate criticism in this country, as well as a censorship of food, drink, education, and next, religion, we had better put an immediate end to the paternalistic bureaucratic schemes with which every Congress reeks, and get back to the fundamental notions of Americanism as set forth in the Constitution of the United States. If we are not minded to retrace our steps, then let us put the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution in their proper place in the supplement of Joe Miller's joke book, and readjust ourselves as best we can, to the reign of autocracy in the once free United States.

Chaplains and Returning Soldiers

THE United States from the very beginning of our entrance into the war recognized the importance of chaplains as a part of the military organization. Every effort was made to satisfy the wishes of every shade of religious belief, and every facility accorded the ministers of religions to exercise their important functions. In the camps at home and abroad, and in the fighting lines, chaplains were treated with a broad spirit and with large courtesy. So, too, on the return of the soldiers the same generous recognition, with characteristic American fairness, has been extended to those whose insignia of office is the Cross. An instance of this, selected out of many, will serve as an illustration.

One of the striking features of the celebration of welcome accorded to the Yankee Division on its return to

Boston last Friday was the guard of honor which accompanied the service flag with its glorious record of heroic duty heroically performed. Two thousand gold stars were blazoned on its field of white. It was heavy toll to pay for the saving of the world, and New England has reason to be proud that in this as in former instances it has been generous, even prodigal, in giving its best blood to the cause of freedom. At the head of the procession rode that gallant soldier, Major-General Clarence E. Edwards, a man dear to the heart of New England even before he went to France, but doubly so since his return, not merely because he is the highest type of a gentleman-soldier, but also because, like the man he is, he shared every danger with his men, and in the trenches no less than in the camp, was not their commander only but their comrade and their friend.

It was characteristic of Major-General Edwards, as an American and a soldier, that he should have placed two chaplains among the guard of honor of the service flag. He knew he could not better consult the wishes of those who had died for their country than to have a chaplain in attendance on the flag. For him the chaplain is the link between the soldier, whether dead or alive, and God. The officer is responsible for the lives of his men; the chaplain for their souls. The army wishes the soldiers to do their duty, and to die if need be, as men; the chaplains work to help them to fight, and should the extreme sacrifice be demanded, to lay down their lives as Christians. Since the Yankee Division, which fought and died with such heroic generosity, was composed so largely of Catholics, and since the chaplains had so large a share in creating and sustaining their unshaken morale, it was wise and fitting that a chaplain, a priest, should have had an honored place in the guard of honor to their heroic living and dead.

The Restless World

THE Peace Conference has now been sitting many weeks and peace is as far away as ever—an ideal to be striven for, rather than an objective fact attained. Indeed, unless appearances are altogether deceitful, the olive branches that were to have been sent from Paris to the exhausted nations are withering away, for lack of suitable messengers. The doves that were to have borne them abroad have fallen upon one another, to the scandal of the world.

The Peace Conference convoked to pour oil and wine into the wounds of the mangled world, is itself at war, and men are shaking sorry heads over the unseemly squabble, precipitated, it would appear, by the very lust for power and territory that motivated the Great War. This is a sad and despicable sight, worthy, perhaps, of pagans, but altogether out of keeping with Christian character. Yet, though thoughtful men may be disgusted over the fracas, they will hardly be surprised at it.

The Conference met to decide the most momentous problems in the history of the world. Territory and

trade and passions were so inextricably commingled that impartial folk wondered how the difficulties could be encompassed by the mere power of man. They had hoped the aid of God would be invoked that the world might be set once again in the ways of peace. But the Conference was of a different mind. It thought itself sufficient unto itself. If exception be made for the accident by which the President of France dropped the word, God, in his opening speech, the name of God has not been mentioned once at any of the sessions. His power has not been invoked; His assistance has not been asked, and He has delivered the Conference into the hands of its councils. The result is confusion worse confounded, a scandal to the Christian world, a joke to the pagan world. The end of the disgraceful squabble no man can tell, for passion is fitful, but at least Christian peoples can learn this lesson from it: their welfare is not safe in the keeping of men who flout God, the source of light and peace.

Why Catholics Honor Mary

WITH the coming of May, Mary's month, the heart of the entire Catholic world will turn with loving reverence towards the Mother of God, and once again we shall have striking evidence of the Divinity of Christ's Church in the spectacle of that unity in diversity which is so striking a characteristic of Catholicism. Different in race, color, civilization and customs, rent by divisions that are threatening the very existence of humanity, alienated by dissensions that defy the highest ingenuity of the mind of man to bridge, every portion of the known world is gathering about the shrines of the Blessed Virgin, to say the same prayers, to breathe the same aspirations, to implore the same protection, to render the same homage. Even in spite of itself the mind of man, if it be not blinded by impenetrable prejudice, finds itself forced by the evidence of fact to cry out, "The finger of God is here." Such an effect transcends human agencies, it postulates a Divine cause. Its origin is to be traced to Christ.

Everywhere the children of Mary, as they kneel be-

fore the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, will find her, as it should be with a mother, holding out to them her Child. Approach to the Madonna means approach to Christ. And there will not be a Catholic, not the simplest boy or girl, who will not realize that if he honors Mary it is because Mary is the Mother of God. A secondary reason for her *hyperdulia*, that worship, wholly different in kind from the *latria*, which is paid to God alone, but at the same time far in excess of the *dulia* given to the Saints, is the mandate of the Supreme Lawgiver to honor the Creator in all His creatures. For it would be a strange inconsistency were we to praise God in His tumbling cataracts and His rushing waters and refuse to praise Him in the fairest work of His hands, excepting only the humanity of Christ. Nevertheless, the fundamental, principal, all-sufficient and compelling motive for doing homage to the Lily of Israel, is the fact that she is the Mother of Christ.

Catholics are convinced, not merely by laws of logic but by the impulse of their own hearts, that they cannot possibly please Christ the Son by dishonoring Mary His Mother. They leave to heresy the impossible task of reconciling this irreconcilable contradiction, being conscious meanwhile that one of the most powerful factors for the preserving of belief in the Divinity of Christ has been precisely the belief that they should honor Mary as the Mother of God. It is an appalling fact of history that those who have begun by rejecting the Blessed Mother have ended by rejecting the Divine Son. The belief in the Divinity of Christ outside the Catholic Church is exceedingly tenuous, it is growing weaker day by day. The conviction is almost inevitable that this is a judgment of God, as if Christ said, "If you will not have my Mother, you shall not have Me." To try to tear the Christ-Child from the arms of His Mother, or to drag her from the foot of the Cross is to attempt the impossible. Those who have endeavored to do so have utterly failed. The practice of refusing honor to the Madonna is one of the surest indictments of Protestantism, the practice of paying her honor is one of the clear proofs of Catholic truth.

Literature

A Word About Heroes

IF it be true that art holds the mirror up to nature, it must be reluctantly conceded that very many well-loved stories are inartistic in their leading characters. The hero—or heroine—marvelously fair to look upon, faultless, buffeted by fate and persecuted by his enemies but always valiant or meek in his suffering, is a time-honored, world-loved institution, indefensible perhaps, but not undefended. He figured in the first crude, strange tales told on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates; he held his own in Grecian literature and in the imitative Roman; he was lord of all in the romantic cycles of King Arthur and Amadis of Gaul, and the ballads of the Cid; and he was given an only less important place by Scott and Cooper and Dickens. Even in this matter-of-fact, realistic century many story-writers

and dramatists are as deeply enamored of him as were their predecessors, and the public remains unwaveringly faithful to its first love. Is it the need of a hero that makes "Vanity Fair" such sad reading, and his absence that defrauds "Pride and Prejudice" of the popularity its artistry deserves?

The hero has been ridiculed, and has survived; proof of strong vitality. He is dubbed untrue to nature and the case against him is proved—all to no purpose. If he is indeed a literary evil he seems to be a necessary one, the favorite device of the story-teller and a solace to every romantically inclined reader weary of life's drabness and longing for a perfection which he rarely or never finds in those about him.

The hero discredited as a legitimate feature of the novel and the drama, what would be the fate of his one rival in the heart

of a thrill-loving public, what would be the fate of the villain? A villain with no long-suffering hero to hound and persecute is inconceivable. What excuse for Quilp were there no little Nell, for Pecksniff if Tom Pinch were not at hand? To act as a foil for his wicked enemy is one of a hero's chief duties. In the discharge of it he is forgiven much that in another would be stigmatized as pharisaical cant. It is so satisfying, for instance, to see Wackford Squeers beaten almost as soundly as he deserves that Nicholas Nickleby is pardoned the otherwise unpardonable stiffness and priggishness of saying, as he lays his victim low, "My indignation is aggravated by the dastardly cruelties practised on helpless infancy in this foul den;" and overlooked is the melodramatic style of "Wretch, touch him at your peril! I will not stand by and see it done. My blood is up, and I have the strength of ten such men as you. Look to yourself, for by Heaven I will not spare you, if you drive me on!" The arrogance and self-sufficiency are softened by the contrast.

A trait noticeable in every hero worthy of the name is that he has no faults. Traits of character which in ordinary mortals would—to put it mildly—seem strongly to resemble a failing or two are somehow transfigured in the case of a hero. Loss of temper on his part becomes noble rage or righteous—O very righteous!—indignation. His rashness is valor, his extravagance generosity or large-mindedness, his egotism self-respect. In stories of adventure he leads a charmed life. Disease, bullets, and sword-blades are alike powerless against him. His companions fall at his side, by tens and by scores they fall, but he passes almost unscathed even through such multiplied hardships and dangers as Robert Louis Stevenson, Stanley Weyman, and Meredith Nicholson provide for him.

Sometimes a novelist or a writer of plays is brave enough to defy tradition and make a noble character not only plain of face but even ugly. Cyrano de Bergerac is an example. Sometimes one goes yet farther and deprives him also of every grace of manner. Noble-hearted, but ugly and unattractive—hardly worthy to rank as hero! Such is Captain Cuttle, best of all good friends, with his "hard glazed hat," and "shirt-collar like a sail," and "wide suit of blue"; with his "knobby nose"; with a hook for a hand which he is wont to wave gallantly in salutation to the ladies of his acquaintance and unscrews at dinner-time and replaces with a knife for the cutting of his food; Captain Cuttle with his quaint, oft-repeated quotations, and his dullness, and his craven fear of Mrs. MacStinger. But perhaps Dickens should be forgiven Captain Cuttle, for "Dombey and Son" is also provided with Florence Dombey, beautiful and perfect heroine, and with a lover not unworthy even of her.

In the novels of today the hero is seldom as brazenly heroic as in those that were popular fifty years ago. John Halifax, for instance, a typical if not an illustrious example of yesterday's fashion, was born a hero and a hero he steadfastly remained until he died full of years and honors; but Queed slowly works up to the hero level, and Hugh Wynne committed a slight fault or two in his adventurous boyhood, although, of course, a fault on virtue's side. Even today one really annoying, disagreeable trait in a hero is as unimaginable as a good deed done by a villain. Public opinion would tolerate neither, and public opinion is not lightly to be trifled with.

But priggish though the typical hero be, be he as unnatural and exaggerated as his enemies declare, would many wish to see him banished to the already crowded realm of dispelled illusions? Without him fiction would be sadder than it is, and now it is often too sad. It would become hopelessly drab-colored. And far better the most perfect of heroes than the implication that real life is not sweetened and brightened by many heroic men and women, less handsome, less romantic, certainly less faultless, far more lovable than he.

FLORENCE GILMORE.

PATIENCE.

Take heed and be quiet; fear not, neither let thine heart be faint . . . because Syria hath counseled evil against thee, Ephraim also, and the son of Remaliah. Is. vii: 4-5.

Let patience have her perfect work,
Whose strength in quietness shall be—
Though eyes are bandaged lest they see
Their God amid the desolate murk.
Though the abyss should open its brink,
Yet headlong I shall never sink—
If patience hath her perfect work.

Syria and Israel with their kings,
Two tails of smoking firebrands, flared;
But strong in hope my spirit dared
Accomplishment of hopeless things.
For with my broken strength renewed
I do not fear your bitter feud,
Syria and Israel and your kings!

For if the God of patience gave
Such years of patience unto one
Who stoned the prophets of His Son,
And slew the Son as a shameful slave—
How patient must I be with Him,
In all His dealings strangely dim,
For all the patience that He gave!

THEODORE MAYNARD.

REVIEWS

The Elstones. By Isabel C. Clarke. New York: Benziger Brothers.

If there had been any doubt, which was not the case with discerning readers, as to whether Miss Clarke had a prominent place in the forefront of English novelists, that doubt has been effectively and permanently dispelled by her latest story. It puts her among the very best of the best fiction-writers of the day. She is a psychologist, an artist, an idealist, and a Catholic, and in all these respects she ranks high. The vogue she enjoys in the literary world is too well established to need confirmation, but for Catholics she has an added charm, because with her forceful delineation of character, her artistry in words, her responsiveness to all that is beautiful in the physical and moral worlds she has interwoven, in her recent as in her former novels, a subtle something, unobtrusive but omnipresent, difficult of analysis but none the less real, which gives to her work the satisfying stamp of truth. They ring true. Whether it be color or tone or atmosphere, it is there, the spirit of Christ. One takes up her books with no fear of being pained or shocked, one lays them down with higher ideals and with renewed inspiration for the better things. Miss Clarke's stories should be given an honored place on every Catholic book-shelf.

"The Elstones" is a study in conversion. Sir Simon Elstone, the husband of a lady deeply rooted in Protestant prejudice, and fiercely loyal to her convictions, succeeds through the courage of his little daughter and his son, in having a priest receive him into the Church on his death-bed, and in his last words he leaves as his richest legacy to his children the hope that they will eventually come to see the truth. The story traces the gradual effect of his dying words, and describes the workings of Divine grace in the two sons and the daughter. It is a study in contrasts, the irresistible appeal of the Faith and the tortured opposition of honest error. The setting is among the best traditions of English culture, the characters are intensely human, and thoroughly loyal, and it is on their conflicting loyalties that the plot is built. The development is very clever, the interest

never flags, and the story mounts steadily to the climax. As is so often the case with women novelists, the men are better drawn or at least are more satisfying than the women. With the latter the author has been rather ruthless.

J. H. F.

West Wind Days: By MARY O'ROURKE. London, W. C. Erskine MacDonald, Ltd.

This book of carefully wrought poetry is dedicated to the Little Flower and is from the pen of a gifted Catholic author, whose favorite subjects are the peaceful dead and the mystery of the Cross. The war's ravages among the golden youth of the world fill the poet's heart with somber thoughts which she expresses very musically, and the shadow of Calvary falls upon what seems at first quite ordinary and commonplace and gives it a sudden mystic beauty. In these lines called "Crosses by the Way," the author blends together her thoughts on these cherished themes, singing:

No Crosses break our ordered street,
A road for sober, clerkly feet,
And prosperous folk—What need have they
Of shrined Compassion by the way?
What need for black, complacent eyes
To look on pictured agonies?
—Well that the casual passer goes
Unvexed by Christ's remembered throes!
Yet ah! dull eyes, forgetful hearts,
Unchanged the old Golgotha starts
On modern roads: uprears unseen
Above the sleepy village green,
Darkens the cottage garden, leaves
Its shadow on the Manor's eaves—
For here they walked and there they stood
Who climbed to Death's exalting Rood,
And here they played who sacrificed
Their lives for Life.

Unhavened Christ!
Not in stark plaster, white and red
We keep Thy wounds, but in our Dead!

But she sometimes lingers too long over the graves of the dead, taking a rather morbid complacency in the progress of the body's return to its kindred dust. In the lines "To Robin," a pet dog, the author beautifully develops a thought something like the theme of Coventry Patmore's "Toys," her touch in "Suburbia" will remind the reader of Joyce Kilmer's "Dulceness," "Attainment" enshrines a truth that all who have sought perfect happiness in a love that ends in this life must have experienced, and these lines on "Communion" are a not altogether successful attempt to express poetically a familiar thought:

I have a room, a lowly place
Unworthy of Thy call, my Grace!

I have a rough, a sodden bed
Unfitting for Thy shining Head!

I have a dark, a clammy street
Unlovely for Thy merry Feet!

Yet if Thou wilt but enter,—see
The scarlet shutters part for Thee!

And a red carpet spread beneath
The white pavilion of my teeth!

My throat becomes Thy highway—Go
To my swept heart that waits below—

There richest cramoisie I keep
As canopy for Thy dear sleep!

"The Great Anon" is a striking Christmas poem. "The Stick" admirably shows how a devout mind can discern the mystery of the Cross in the most commonplace things, and several moving poems on children seem to indicate that the author is a mother, and perhaps a bereaved one. "West Wind Days," let us hope, will be followed by other poems from her pen.

W. D.

The Grand Fleet. 1914-1916. Its Creation, Development and Work. By ADMIRAL VISCOUNT JELlicoe of Scapa, G. C. B., O. M., G. C. V. O. With Illustrations, Plans and Diagrams. New York: George H. Doran Co.

The British Navy in Battle. By ARTHUR H. POLLEN. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co.

These two volumes will be eagerly read by thousands. For if there is anything which has appealed to the imagination during the war it is the work of the British navy, which in a mysterious way, even when it was not fighting the battles of the Falkland Islands, the Dogger Bank, or Jutland, was deciding the final outcome of the war. The British fleet contributed in a most vital manner to the triumph of the Allied cause. We know from the record of destruction made by the Emden before she was finally trapped, that had fifteen or twenty such German ships, by escaping the vigilant eye of the British navy, been free to ruin commerce and halt Allied transportation of men, ammunition and supplies on the high seas, the story to be told would be a different one.

Admiral Jellicoe's account of the operations of the grand fleet brings before us the tale of the British navy's exploits in the way in which great men narrate historic facts of which they have been a part. The commander of the fleet writes in a sailor-like fashion, just as he would record a day's run in his log-book. He gives us facts in a clean-cut business-like manner, with an objective and impersonal aloofness, more in the style of an impartial observer than of one who was personally in the drama which he lays before us.

No one will be surprised if the Admiral has not cleared up all the difficult questions regarding the part played by the British navy in the great contest, or that some of the phases of the battle of Jutland still remain obscure. Americans who remember the fierce controversy that raged with regard to the battle of Santiago and the destruction of Cervera's fleet will not be astonished to see a similar controversy with regard to the sea fight of May 31, 1916. That the battle of Jutland was undecisive in the strict sense is evident from the subsequent course of the war which dragged on for two years and a half more. For the victory in the war would have gone to the side that thoroughly defeated its opponent's fleet in that critical moment. Ninety per cent of the naval defensive power of Great Britain was concentrated in the battle of Jutland under Admiral Jellicoe. The offensive power of the German fleet was somewhat inferior to this. It will be a surprise for many to learn from the pages of the British Admiral that in skilful and far-sighted preparation, in range-finding and range-reaching, in equipment for night battle, in armament and optical instruments, in control of secondary batteries, the German high seas fleet had a marked superiority. For such superiority Admiral Jellicoe was not to blame. The fault lay elsewhere. But one thing comes out from every page of this gallant sailor's fascinating book, that the British Admiral's officers and men performed not only at Jutland battle, but especially by their long and effective vigil in the North Sea, a most substantial and at the same time the most unselfish service for the cause which they were defending. During his command Admiral Jellicoe controlled the greatest naval force the world has seen. The total of one salvo from a single one of his battleships was greater than that of half a million muskets. "The aggregate artillery power of twenty-four of his battleships in the Jutland sea-fight exceeded that of 10,000,000 infantry soldiers, and he moved these battleships at the speed of twenty miles an hour." That gives an idea of the grand fleet's strength.

One of the first things the reader will do on opening Mr. Pollen's book, will be to turn to his account of the Jutland sea fight and compare it with that of Admiral Jellicoe's. The two pictures here complete each other. Mr. Pollen does for the British navy as a whole, wherever it fought and kept

guard, what the Admiral does for the grand fleet. The complete epic then of the great sea story is placed before us. It is told with the same simplicity and directness which marks the Admiral's story. To us now it seems like a far distant time when the Sydney trapped the Emden, and Craddock and von Spee fought each other almost at the ends of the world. These dramatic episodes are admirably told by Mr. Pollen, who fortunately for the reader anxious to "devour" the last of these sea-tales brings his story down to the days of the successful British raids on Zeebrugge and Ostend which came as a happy relief of good news in the midst of the story of Ludendorff's too lucky spring drive of last year. Mr. Pollen's work is not written for boys, but they should not miss its splendid story.

J. C. R.

American Labor and the War. By SAMUEL GOMPERS, President of the American Federation of Labor. New York: George H. Doran Co.

Did American organized labor stand in need of any vindication of its patriotism, the present book would afford eloquent testimony in its cause. It is a collection of the principal addresses delivered by Mr. Samuel Gompers during the period of the great war and of the most important official war-documents of the American Federation of Labor. President Gompers is an extemporaneous speaker and his complete addresses delivered during the World-War would fill not one volume only but many books. The speeches collected here make plain his stanch stand for democracy. They are patriotic effusions rather than mere labor records and show him to have been one of the greatest individual powers in winning the present war. He thus describes the miscalculation of German autocracy:

It never entered into the minds of the autocrats of Germany that America, this easy-going people of ours, a people engaged in labor, in business, in politics, could be united. It never entered into their minds that this vast country of ours, with more than 100,000,000 of people, made up of all nationalities, could produce anything like a united spirit and a willingness to serve and to sacrifice. It was one of those great mistakes in the calculation of autocracy which believes nothing is efficient except power.

As for the Bolsheviks, Mr. Gompers has but one word: "The Czar of Russia in his palmiest days could do no worse than the Bolsheviks have done." And as he says this he well knows that "We have the Bolsheviks right in the United States." Organized trade-unionism in our country deserves great credit for having been one of the most determined forces both against imperialistic autocracy and proletariat dictatorship. While the reviewer has no wish to idealize Mr. Gompers it is just to say of him that he has been the very soul of this salutary opposition.

J. H.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

The Rt. Rev. John P. Carroll, D.D., Bishop of Helena, opens the May 8 number of the *Catholic Mind* with a timely and convincing paper on "World-Democracy and the Church" in which he gives satisfying answers to the charges that the Church is an autocracy and that the Church cannot thrive in a democracy. He ends with a plea for social justice, saying:

The Catholic Church holds that the nightmare of Bolshevism and anarchy cannot be broken unless social justice prevail; and that social justice is impossible unless both employer and employed live up to the Ten Commandments. The spirit of religion and Christian morality, therefore, must be at the bottom of any scheme of social and economic betterment that would aim to make democracy safe for the world.

Father R. J. Little, S.J., then gives eight cogent reasons "Why the Catholic School Exists." Father Hull tells an inquirer why it is ethically wrong for soldiers to kill their wounded comrades in order to spare them pain, and then Max Pemberton, the novelist, briefly describes "The Church's Grandeur."

Given a pair of pretty and witty Anglo-German twin maidens of seventeen, left orphans and shipped off to America early in the war by their English relatives; given an impressionable rich and "motherly" American bachelor who makes the Twinkler girls' acquaintance on the voyage over; given the complications that ensue when the Clouston Sacks fail to appear at the New York wharf, and given, finally, the clever author of "Elizabeth and Her German Garden" to tell us all the bright things "Christopher and Columbus" (Doubleday, Page Co.) said and what amusing adventures they had—these are the ingredients of a most amusing story. No girls in existence could keep making such bright and droll remarks as those which constantly fell from the lips of Anna I and Anna II. The story is artistically constructed and almost every character in it is consistently amusing. American phariseism is delicately and discernedly satirized, but those two pitfalls of the humorist, vulgarity and irreverence, are not always successfully avoided. It is a book that will banish the blues.

Any one who has ever been even a casual visitor in that most charming section of Europe and has remarked the feeling of repugnance with which the vast majority of the Tyrolese even in the Trentino, regard subjection to Italy, will appreciate the sincerity of the national appeal in the pamphlet, "The Unity of Tyrol" (Memorandum of the Academic Senate of the University of Innsbruck). It is an outcry against Italy's aggression in claiming as her national frontier the watershed of the Brenner. The pamphlet says in substance: "This watershed has never been in history a determining factor in nationalization. The Tyrol has been coherently German far south of the Brenner since the eleventh century. Snatch if you must those loyal brothers of ours who happen to speak Italian but you have no right to German and Ladinian South Tyrol. If you thrust under a foreign yoke the 42,000 people who live between Italian Trentino and the Brenner you will only be creating a real Irredenta whose redemption will again convulse Europe." —In "War Finance" (Houghton Mifflin Co.) Clarence W. Barron draws up an interesting analysis of the financial aspects of the war and reconstruction. As a writer on finance his position is unquestioned yet Mr. Barron weakens his book by going far afield into European history and endeavoring to settle every question arising from the World-War by the "say-so" of someone or other whom he has met in his travels. One of the most enlightening parts of his book is the chapter on "Capital Accumulation" wherein he unmasks the radicalism of Lincoln Steffens whom he holds responsible for Trotzky's presence in Russia and the subsequent Russian tragedy.

"The Undeclared" (Appleton), by J. C. Snaith, is an interesting study of a man of fine sensibilities and artistic temperament, unfitted to cope with the strenuous struggle of life, who disappoints his wife by his listlessness, and to all seeming has made a failure of life. The war, however, appeals to his better nature, and, by his courage and readiness to sacrifice everything, he rises above the sordid fetters of his previous inaction and reveals a fine character of simple but undoubted greatness, awakens a new romance of love in his wife's heart, and in the end, having turned failure into triumph, lays down his life in a soft glow of heroism and achievement.—"The Fire of Green Boughs" (Dodd, Mead) is a clever story by Mrs. Victor Rickard in the same vein as her former novel, "The Light Above the Crossroads." The war furnishes the setting, although it is not a war novel, but rather a study in human nature. A whimsical but charming girl is the principal source of interest, who blunders into a happy marriage through a variety of unsuccessful attempts to make her living. There are a number of engaging characters in the story which rambles on leisurely but pleasantly

to a satisfactory conclusion. The story is well told, is out of the ordinary mold, and shows a good deal of careful discrimination.—"The Soul of Ann Rutledge" (Lippincott), by Bernie Babcock, is a disappointing book, for the author gives a true picture neither of Lincoln nor of Ann Rutledge, and under her treatment the most touching episode in the life of our greatest American becomes mere banality.—"Why Joan?" (Century), Eleanor Mercein Kelly's new novel, gives a faithful picture of life in Louisville, Ky., just before the present war. The book would have been much improved by the omission of several indelicate chapters.—A hoyden's very unconventional escapades from childhood to youth as described in Marjorie Benton Cook's novel, "The Cricket" (Doubleday), are tiresome and inartistic.—In "Nurse Benson" (Lane) Justin Huntly McCarthy spins out into a novel a successful comedy of the same name which he wrote in conjunction with R. C. Carton. Passing herself off as a nurse, Lady "Gillie" takes care of a wounded young officer who of course seizes his excellent opportunity of wooing and winning her. The complications that ensue are amusing.

"War Aims and Peace Ideals" (Yale University Press), is a sort of anthology of "selections in prose and verse illustrating the aspirations of the modern world" which Tucker Brooke, B.Litt., and Henry Seidel Canby, Ph.D., have compiled. Typical passages, some being quite long, from the war literature of Germany, Belgium, France, England, America, etc., are designed to portray each nation's soul. Cardinal Mercier's inspiring sermon on "The Uses of Adversity," for example, being given, and Sergeant Joyce Kilmer's poem, "The White Ships and the Red."—Mr. Frederick E. Pierce has again vindicated his claim to poetic recognition by his new book, "Poems of New England and Old Spain" (Four Seas Company). Of the five poems that make up the volume, four are devoted to New England. The author has a keen insight into the lives and character of the people about whom he writes, the drudgery of their farm work, their somber pride and their occasional glimpses of the beauty of hill and field. The last poem, "The Night Before the Auto-da-fe," is a wierd composition best described by the author. "It draws its framework and thought from historical reading, but its emotional coloring from the psychology of Puritanism in rural New England." This strange combination of sources colors the point of view with which the principals in the execution are regarded. The expression is vivid and dramatic, and oftentimes shows gleams of real beauty.

Mr. James A. Mackereth contributes to the March-April number of that excellent bi-monthly, the *Poetry Review*, a just appraisal of "Folly," Mr. Theodore Maynard's recent book of poems. He finds that the author's "mysticism consists largely of fine spacious common-sense. He has that precious gift in his possession which Heaven put into man's heart when the brain was sufficiently grown in his head—humor." Among the poems in the issue those by Major Guy M. Kindersley, O. B. E., are particularly good. One entitled "The Shepherds Feed Themselves and Feed Not My Flock" well expresses what the war-worn soldier must think of diplomats now wrangling in Paris and these stanzas on "Fecamp Abbey, 1918," strikingly contrasts the spirit of today's builders with that which animated the medieval architects:

Great were the temples you builded, long were the years that
you wrought.
Mighty with chisel and hammer, and cunning the craftsmen
you taught;
Content to live for your labor, and die ere the labor was
done,
For 'twas meet your children should finish the buildings
your fathers begun.

You worked for a Master Builder, who paid not by time nor
in gold,

And gave to the youngest workman the wage that he gave to
the old—
The joy that was His in creation when He laid aside His rod
And the morning stars made answer to the shout of the
sons of God.
But now we are hirelings of Mammon, and mean are the
buildings we rear;
Hastening to finish our labor for a wage which we take
with a sneer;
For love is the tool of the craftsman, and his light is the
single eye.
And whenever man serves two masters, the spirit of man
must die.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- D. Appleton & Co., New York:
The Redemption of the Disabled. By Gerard Harris. Illustrated. \$2.00.
Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris:
1814-1914 A Propos du Centenaire du Rétablissement des Jésuites.
Correspondance. 1 fr.
Bloud & Gay, Paris:
Sous le Poing de Fer. Quatre ans dans un Faubourg de Lille. Par
Albert Droulers. 3 fr 50.
The H. J. Dick Printing Co., Syracuse, N. Y.:
A Summary of Indulgences Granted to the Three Orders of St.
Francis and a Selection of the More Common Indulgences Granted
to the Faithful. Compiled by a Priest of the Order of Friars Minor
Conventual of St. Francis.
The Four Seas Co., Boston:
Our First Ten Thousand. By Sergeant Chester Walton Jenks. Illus-
trated. \$1.00.
Harding & More, Ltd., 199 High Holborn, London, W. C. 1.:
Retreats for Soldiers in War-time and After. By Charles Plater, S. J.
M. A. and C. C. Martindale, S. J. M. A. Half-a-Crown.
Harper & Brothers, New York:
Bolshevism, the Enemy of Political and Industrial Democracy. By
John Spargo. \$1.50.
Henry Holt, New York:
The Day of Glory. By Dorothy Canfield. \$1.00.
J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia:
A Gentle Cynic. Being a Translation of the Book of Koheleth, Com-
monly Known as Ecclesiastes, Stripped of Later Additions. Also Its
Origin, Growth and Interpretations. By Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.
D.D. \$2.00.
Longmans, Green & Co., New York:
Education and Social Movements. 1700-1850. By A. E. Dobbs. \$3.50;
Wheels, 1918. Third Cycle. Edited by Edith Sitwell. \$1.00; Experi-
mental Education. By Robert R. Rush, Ph. D. \$2.50.
The Loyola University Press, Chicago:
America's Answer or the Great Opportunity for the Boys of America.
By P. J. Sontag, S. J. \$0.10; \$7.00 a hundred.
Robert M. McBride & Co., New York:
The Second Bullet. By Robert Orr Chipperfield. \$1.50; Tales of
Secret Egypt. By Sax Rohmer. \$1.50.
The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa:
The Great Conspiracy. An Epic Drama in Nine Scenes Written in
Prose and Verse. By Charles V. N. Roberts.
University of Chicago Press, Chicago:
Sociology and Education Vol. XIII.
Yale University Press, New Haven:
The Forgotten Man and Other Essays. By William Graham Sumner.
Edited by Albert Galloway Keller. \$3.50; Rural Reconstruction in
Ireland. A Record of Co-operative Organization. By Lionel Smith-
Gordon, M. A., and Laurence C. Staples, A. M. \$3.00; Idealism and
the Modern Age. By George Plimpton Adams, Ph.D. \$2.50.

EDUCATION

Mrs. Dorr Discusses the Smith Bill

MRS. Rheta Childe Dorr, when I last read of her multi-farious activities, was pursuing the bearded Bolshevik across the boundless steppes of Russia. If her intention was to obtain an interview, I cannot find it in my heart to blame the Bolshevik. At interviewing, Mrs. Dorr is an old hand, but her work is rough, and the finished product is an anachronism in these days of open covenants openly arrived at. Too often does she mistake a feeling for a fact; contrary to Mark Twain's sage advice, instead of allowing a fact to remain in its own native nudity, she is prone to increase its visibility by dressing it in an overcoat. To be costumer to a fact adds a poetic picturesqueness to the role of interviewer, but the result may not always be in keeping with the Decalogue. Even an editor in search of the sensational, sometimes finds that he has a conscience in this matter, or what for a time is as troublesome as a conscience.

MRS. DORR AND THE "DEN"

SOME years ago, on the heels of the Charities Investigation which dug the grave for many a promising politician, Mrs. Dorr made a bid for popular favor by writing a tearful little sketch for "The New York Evening Mail Syndicate," then edited

by Mr. S. S. McClure. It was a grisly tale that sounded like a reminiscence from "Maria Monk," and told a story of scandalous mistreatment of a little girl by "hirelings" in charge of a Catholic institution, which Mrs. Dorr, with rare good feeling, described as a "den." The accusation was at once taken up with Mrs. Dorr and with one V. V. McNitt, manager of the Syndicate. At this removal of time, I cannot number the stamps I used in trying to trace the name of the child and of the "den" in which she had been mistreated, and the year in which the alleged cruelties had been inflicted. But I got nothing except a series of wordy letters which I still retain as an excellent example of unsuccessful dodging. When the manager called me by telephone one hot afternoon in August, I thought that at last I was on the trail of a clue, but again was I disappointed. Forgetting to cover the transmitter, a personage who afterwards introduced himself as the manager, exclaimed wrathfully, "Well, she's gone and put her foot in it again," and then proceeded in a tone calculated to melt a heart of Bessemer steel, "I want to talk to you about Mrs. Dorr." But his first remark may not have referred to Mrs. Dorr, and truth compels me to say that I have softened those cruel words somewhat, for the purposes of publication. Besides, as those were the days when wire-tapping was in flower, the speaker may not have been the manager of "The New York Evening Mail Syndicate," but a German agent, bent on stirring up trouble.

A DISINGENUOUS ARGUMENT

WHETHER or not Mrs. Dorr succeeded in putting her foot in it three years ago, I think she has performed that acrobatic trick in an article which appears in the *Pictorial Review* for May. The editor of that magazine has thought well to issue a circular letter to teachers calling their attention to "one of the most important articles dealing with education a woman's magazine has ever published," and he very thoughtfully notes that the price is only twenty cents. That sets a low standard for the "woman's magazine," for as a discussion of the Smith bill the article is as worthless as its sensational title "The Shame of America."

To begin with, Mrs. Dorr repeats the old shibboleth that the purpose of the bill is "to wipe out the curse of illiteracy and the evil of alienism, and to raise the whole standard of American education." That is a distinctly unfair presentation. The avowed purpose of the bill, as expressed in its very title, is "to create a department of education, to appropriate money for the conduct of said department, to appropriate money to encourage the States in the promotion and support of education, and for other purposes." The practical effect of the bill will be to establish a Prussian educational bureaucracy at Washington, destroying the control which the States and the respective communities have exercised over their schools since the foundation of the Republic. It is barely possible, as I have said before, that an abandonment of the relation between the Federal Government and the local schools may be necessary. But it is well to know that the complete abolition of a successful American policy is the deepest principle of the Smith bill.

URGING A NON-EXISTENT BILL

IN the next place, this much-heralded article defends a bill that is no longer before Congress. This fact grades Mrs. Dorr's acquaintance with educational matters, and her position to speak with authority. Neither she nor the editor seems to know that on February 19, Senator Smith withdrew his bill of October 10, 1918, and asked that the Committee on Education and Labor be dismissed from all further consideration of the said measure. Consequently, Mrs. Dorr is again sounding a false alarm. This is rather a pity, for Mrs. Dorr would have outdone herself in pathos had she known Section 13, the "joker" intended to draw the teacher vote, of Senator Smith's bill of February 19. Sec-

tion 13 purports to secure large salary advances for teachers, but in point of fact does nothing of the kind.

Further light is thrown on Mrs. Dorr's ability to discuss the subject intelligently, by her enthusiastic remark that not one penny of the annual appropriation of \$100,000,000, "will be spent on administration." Yet it is clear that the thousands of clerks, attachés, auditors, inspectors and politicians which a Department of Education will draw to Washington, cannot be expected to live like chimeras on second intentions. Mrs. Dorr herself dimly senses this impossibility, and adds with the air of one who has just discovered how to effect an enormous saving, that "a special appropriation will pay their expenses," and perhaps more than one appropriation. In other words, we know that the bill will cost at least \$100,500,000 per annum, but Mrs. Dorr assures us for our consolation that it may cost much more.

THE REAL EFFECTS IGNORED

IT is only to be expected that the fundamental principles at issue are completely ignored in Mrs. Dorr's inspired article. To this sprightly and imaginative lady the danger involved to the American plan of government, in allowing any Administration to control the schools, centering all educational authority in one political appointee at Washington, is a closed book. Of this Mrs. Dorr, wise in her ignorance, says nothing. It is idle to say that the Smith bill is intended merely to "encourage the States." The simple fact, as even a casual reading of the measure shows plainly, is that the ultimate authority is not the State, but the Secretary of Education. If the courses of study followed in any State do not please him, they must be revised. He can insert a subject of his own choosing, and order a subject prescribed by the State, dropped. More than this, it is in his power to prescribe the methods to be followed in training teachers, and to pass upon their fitness to hold a place in any school, regardless of local examinations. He may consult with the local authorities, but he is not obliged to do this, and in case of dispute, it is with the Federal and not with the State authorities that the final decision rests: As the Cincinnati *Enquirer* well says:

Under the guise of nationalizing the public school system of the United States, efforts are being made to introduce through a congressional enactment, precisely the system that the Prussian autocrats utilized half a century ago. It is proposed to direct curricula and the training of teachers from the banks of the Potomac. . . . An end and a sudden end, should be put to these machinations. It is a cardinal principle that the control of education should be kept close to the people. Vast, indeed, was the concession of the family to the State, when authority over the teaching of the child was surrendered in part. As a compensation, the voters were clothed with power to choose the educators, and supervise the curriculum, and they have guarded this power with commendable jealousy.

If we must find a place for aged and indigent politicians, let us hit upon some new establishment for their housing and support. In a school they are as much out of place as measles and mumps, and far more fatal.

IMMEDIATE ACTION NECESSARY

THE sagacious editor who paid Mrs. Dorr to urge the passage of a bill which was withdrawn more than two months ago, announces that now is the time to buy a copy of his magazine at twenty cents per copy, and otherwise "to take immediate action in connection with this bill." For once I agree with him, if he refers to the bill of February 19. As Catholics work more vigorously for freedom in education than any other group of Americans, I would impress upon every Catholic and every Catholic society, the need of checking at once this attempt to introduce the methods of Prussian autocracy into the United States. The protest should begin with a memorial to be presented to the local Congressman and the two Senators from the

particular State, and should include the following paragraphs suggested by the Rev. F. P. Donnelly, S. J.:

1. Autocracy in education, submitting the country to the dictation of politicians and faddists provided with unlimited power to initiate, modify and change school programs, and endowed with vast revenues, is a direct imitation of European methods and a menace to American freedom. The Smith bill erects such an autocracy.

2. Governments which are practical issue specifications for the commodities or works which they desire, enter into contracts, and pay only for results that meet specifications. The Smith bill votes an immense sum to be given before the results, rather than after them.

3. No sum of money should ever be appropriated without some certitude that the sum is not too much or too little. The Smith bill votes away hundreds of millions without any such certitude, at a time when economy is sorely needed.

There is point to these paragraphs as well as truth. The advocates of the "Sentimental Susie" school, into whose hands the defense of the Smith bill is so largely entrusted, can give us neither.

PAUL L. BLAKELY, S. J.

SOCIOLOGY

The Greatest of Labor Movements

THERE is but one parallel in history to the universal unrest of the laboring classes following the World-War, and their effective determination to better their economic and social conditions. It is to be found in the rise of the craft guilds. Many epochs of "storm and stress" and various periods of world conquest had preceded this event, but none of these ever profoundly affected the masses of the people or radically altered their conditions of life. During all the centuries of pagan civilization, in the great empires of the ancient world, the laborers as a class might change their masters with the change of rulers and of dynasties, but they could not better their position.

Similarly in modern times the great industrial revolution, which completely transformed the methods of production, left the worker in the most helpless dependence on capital and the machine. The Reformation, as Protestant economists admit, had but hastened this result: "The later Lutheran overstress on the rights of the individual," testifies the Rev. Frank Monroe Crouch in the *Churchman*, "found at least an indirect result in the sociopolitical philosophy of *laissez-faire*, which, in conjunction with the industrial revolution, brought about the economic conditions that have occasioned widespread revolt during the last century, both in Europe and America." Luther's own remorseless demand for the blood of the warring peasants ended his prestige with labor. So too the French Revolution, though itself partly a labor movement, was local in its action, relentlessly cruel, bloody and irreligious in its methods, and terminated in the elevation of a courtesan to the altar of Notre Dame as the goddess of the new liberty. Its final result was the subjection of the masses to the merciless exploitation of capitalism. Stripped of his last right of organization the laborer was now rendered more helpless than ever before, save under slavery itself. His lot, indeed, as Pope Leo wrote, was "little better than slavery."

BOLSHEVISM AND THE CRAFT GILDS

IF press reports may be credited, the terrorism of the French Revolution can find its counterpart in some of the more recent excesses of Bolshevism; yet the significance of the labor movement throughout the world is not to be obscured by these. Unfortunately the injection of the spirit of irreligion is again proving itself the greatest peril of modern labor, while the faith of the Middle Ages was the very strength that made possible the winning of the only universal labor victory recorded in all history, a victory which was achieved with moderation and comparatively few outbreaks of violence, if we consider the universality and thoroughness of its effects that were to

last on unbroken until the coming of a new social era. It has certainly, therefore, a lesson to teach us.

Everywhere in the growing medieval towns, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, we find the gradual banding together of the Catholic freemen into social and religious unions according to their respective crafts. They little realized that they were launching then the world's greatest labor movement. They were in fact organizing the first Christian trade unions to work out in this manner their more complete emancipation, to maintain their industrial and civic independence, to preserve within their own hands, though under proper sanction of legitimate courts and rulers, the control of the various trades on which their livelihood depended, and to establish on a true and Christian foundation the dignity of honest labor. So in the course of time, throughout all Europe, the system of craft guilds came into being. Based on the personal and not the communal ownership of the means of production by the workers, and on their joint control, under proper public authority, of the industries in which they were engaged and of the marketing of their wares, the craft guilds were in their origin the ideal democratic solution of the social problem of their age.

But more than this, they stand out in all the history of the world as labor's supreme achievement. Feudalism, curbed by the Church at all times, was fast outliving its period of real social service. The burghers in the small towns were seeking for industrial freedom from their feudal lords. Servile dues were gradually cast off for an annual tax, and the right of gild courts, in place of trial before the lord, and of gild-controlled markets was effectively won by them. Charters containing their privileges were granted and respected by the King or lord to whom they rendered their allegiance. So, one by one, their economic and civic rights or privileges were gained and maintained. But the struggle, which by the fourteenth century had practically everywhere been successfully terminated, was not merely directed against oppressive feudal lords, but also against a new form of capitalism that threatened to submerge both labor and the craft guilds.

MEDIEVAL CAPITALISM

IN England the struggle of the craft guilds was slight and local. The way had been prepared for them by the old merchant or town gild, which had purchased or otherwise obtained charter privileges and protected its members against the incroachments of feudal lords. Seldom did these old guilds become oppressive. As the democratic institutions of their day they had originally embraced almost all the free burghers of their respective towns. They now merely disappeared or yielded in importance to the new craft guilds that had been formed out of their own membership. In Scotland, however, bitter struggles ensued between the trade unions and the ancient guilds as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Scotch "gildry" had largely developed into organizations of rich merchants, who continued to retain to a great extent the political control of the burghal councils and could be chosen as magistrates alone.

It was upon the Continent, however, that the real struggle of these first real trade unions in Christian times took place. The emancipation in ever greater numbers of the serfs upon the landed estates and their crowding into the cities, together with the natural growth of the latter, naturally resulted in a comparatively large population who lived by the labor of their hands and personally produced the wares which they sold. Many of the ancient guilds, which perhaps had originated as popular democratic associations, now gradually became exclusive, oligarchic and oppressive. The distinction between rich and poor was daily more marked. Not only did the former obtain control of gild and city, but they soon succeeded in excluding from their organization all who lived by handicraft. Ordinances were enacted denying admission to all who had not relinquished the practice

of their trade for at least a year and a day. "Soiled hands" and "blue nails" were specified in the gild statutes of various countries as badges of toil that debarred a citizen from gild communion. Yet without the privileges accorded by gild membership it was impossible for him to compete with the richer merchants in the profitable exercise of his chosen trade. He would therefore be obliged to labor for them. Not the common good, but their own profit was the end in view. Such was the menace of medieval capitalism.

There had arisen against the craftsman a joint conspiracy of the nobility of the land and the aristocracy of wealth. Taking account of altered circumstances of time and place, conditions were not so very different from those created under the post-Reformation capitalism of modern times. Just as the chains of the old bondage of villeinage or serfdom were being broken there arose the danger that new ones would be forged to bind the freeman. The laborer was often compelled by necessity to place himself under the protection of a patrician, to render him service and pay him taxes. At times the old merchant families and the nobility, who controlled the city, assumed the administration for themselves and threw the burdens upon the craftsmen, who were held in equal disrespect by both.

THE CHURCH AND THE CRAFTSMAN

THE oppression of labor was particularly aggravated at Cologne, where the Bishop sided with the weavers against the patrician element. On November 21, 1371, the execution of thirty-three weavers took place in this city and 1,800 men, according to Brentano, were exiled with their wives and children. The fact that on this occasion the churches and monasteries were ordered searched indicates upon what side the sympathy of the clergy and religious lay. They were seriously suspected, at all events, of harboring the craftsmen from the violence of their enemies.

If instances of ecclesiastics or of religious communities can be adduced that might apparently place the Church in an unfavorable light, all doubt regarding her real attitude must disappear when we consider that the entire gild system, which the craftsmen of these centuries were everywhere constructing, enjoyed not merely the sympathy, but the positive support of the clergy. In all instances the priest was the chaplain of the craft gild, a position which he could not have maintained, universally and invariably as he did, in opposition to the Church. No such opposition was ever expressed by her. On the contrary, the craft gilds grew from suspected institutions into power and influence under the eyes of the priest-chaplain, with the tacit or open sanction of bishops and abbots, and beneath the fostering care of the Church herself. They were as truly religious institutions as economic and social organizations. They sprang up out of the soil of Catholicism and were lovingly hedged in by the Church against all aggression. The error of historians has often been to mistake the individual action of certain interested and perhaps highly worldly prelates for the policy and the spirit of the Church herself. Nothing could be more unfair.

MEANING OF THE VICTORY

IF we remember that in England and upon the Continent the most intimate relation everywhere and at all times existed between gildship and citizenship, that chartering a gild and chartering a city were often identical, and that "gildsmen" and "citizens" are not infrequently used as practically synonymous in royal decrees, we can understand how the official authorization of the craft gilds was an act which violently conflicted with the interests both of the patrician classes and of the ruling merchant families. It frustrated completely the efforts of the latter to make of their gilds an exclusive oligarchy of wealth while it helped to break the power of the feudal lords and strengthened the national governments. The struggle of the

new organizations was for equal rights and equal privileges. New citizens were constantly created through their efforts, outnumbering the old aristocracy. The formal recognition of the craft gilds therefore meant nothing less than a complete readjustment of civic as well as of economic conditions throughout Europe. Their victory may rightly be considered as one of the most important recorded in history. Yet because it was won without flourish of trumpets and crash of armies and storming of ancient citadels, the historian has often failed to realize that it was of immeasurably greater importance and profounder human interest than all the idle conquests of an Alexander or Napoleon.

The Church had been present at the birth of this vast movement. She had captained it with her priests and religious to whom the honest craftsman looked for counsel and for guidance, and in whom he confided with loving reverence and trust. She was present also at the victory and saw that it was tempered with charity as it was animated with the spirit of justice. Rich and poor alike are her children and she has equal care of both; but her predilection, like that of her Divine Master, must always be with the weak and the lowly and those who have most need of her protecting arm. So in the new order that arose out of the old the rights of all were regarded and the common good was made the law supreme of the gilds, so long as they remained obedient to the Church's teachings. Is there a lesson here for our time?

JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, S.J.

NOTE AND COMMENT

Why Subscribe to the Victory Loan?

THE short term notes of the Fifth Liberty Loan offer an unusually favorable opportunity. While paying four and three-fourths per cent., their yield is estimated as equivalent to a corporation bond paying over five per cent. If any fear existed for a time that a lack of interest would be shown in the Victory Loan, offered at a period when the war excitement has passed away, the apprehension can hardly be justified now. It is well, too, that the loans should not be left to the banks alone, as perforce would have been the case had the response been less patriotic on the part of the people. The situation is thus clearly summarized in the *New York Evening Sun*:

The banks will take as many of these notes, since they are so gilt-edged, as will leave them money enough for their business, which is to lend money to corporations and individuals to carry on and enlarge all kinds of business operations. But if the banks should be forced—or permitted—to take up the whole loan they would not have money enough to lend on relatively easy terms for business. The banks cannot be expected to finance the Government and private business besides. Nobody wants to pay the present high taxes, but taxes may be even higher if the Government is not able to sell its bonds to so many individual holders as can carry them (advantageously) and allow the banks to stimulate both domestic and foreign trade and industry.

The dangers which have arisen out of the World War are not so distant that they may not threaten our own country. It is important, therefore, that assistance be given to the Government in adjusting its own difficulties and quickly bringing back our men from the scenes of European conflict and turmoil. They cannot be returned too soon if we would make America at least safe for democracy.

In the Paradise of Prohibition

OUR national capital has now for many months been as dry as Prohibitionists can wish it to be. It has therefore had full time to verify all their predictions and become a very paradise of virtue and brotherly love. Statistics, however, do not

agree with Prohibitionist dreams. The hard facts show that precisely the contrary has been the result. All previous crime records have been broken and the courts have lately disposed of the heaviest calendars in the history of criminal litigation in Washington. One single week in this "bone-arid belt" has had no fewer than 187 criminal indictments to its credit. Says the *New York World*:

Sixteen of the 187 indictments were for the taking of human life, the degrees ranging from murder outright to homicide. Some of the murders are said to have been committed in the most cold-blooded, savage ways. One of the accused is charged with having thrown a lighted lamp at a woman, setting fire to her clothing and causing her to be burned to death. Several persons were beaten to death with lead pipes. A great number of automobile collisions occurred, causing death and serious injury as a result of criminal negligence, and there were several charges of "assault to rape." Such acts of depravity and savage violence, says the statement from the Association Opposed to National Prohibition, are too often pictured by the Anti-Prohibitionists as the sole results of inebriety, and they promised Utopian realization of law and order if Congress would only vote the District of Columbia "bone dry." But, after something more than a year of the "bone dry" delusion, the Nation's capital city is showing up the worst criminal record in its history.

Crimes involving violence are invariably laid to intemperance by the Anti-Prohibitionists. If the assaults and murders committed in sight of the Capitol are to be thus accounted for, it must be concluded that intemperance is on the increase in Washington since the District of Columbia was voted dry, and Prohibition at the very citadel of the Republic has proved a miserable farce.

United States District Attorney Laskey, prosecutor of the criminal cases in the Washington courts, is quoted to the effect that never since his appointment to office has any Grand Jury returned so many indictments against violators of the criminal law.

Religious Movement by Y. M. C. A. in France

UNDER the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. France is being flooded today with an inundation of noted clergymen of the various Protestant denominations. Almost every steamer, says the *New York Journal* for April 19, has brought its quota of such men, evidently selected with great care and at great cost, to inaugurate a most extensive Protestant religious movement among the soldiers:

France seems full of them, these pastors of wealthy American churches and members of the faculties of theological seminaries. They come from almost every part of the United States. Among them are Rev. Dr. Harold Pattison of New York City, Professor Charles B. Erdman of Princeton Theological Seminary, Rev. Dr. Cleland B. McAfee of the McCormick Theological Seminary of Chicago, Bishop C. B. Mitchell of St. Paul, Minn., Rev. Dr. W. A. Billings of Buffalo, N. Y., Rev. Dr. Whitcomb Brougher of Los Angeles, Cal., Rev. Dr. William Russell Owen of Baltimore, Md., Professor Herbert L. Willett of the University of Chicago, Rev. Dr. Judson L. Cross of Fitchburg, Mass., Rev. Dr. Herbert A. Jump of Manchester, N. H., John L. Keedy of Andover, Mass., Rev. Dr. Albert James Lord of Meriden, Conn., and Professor Herbert S. Smith of Smith College. Others are constantly arriving, and still others are scheduled to arrive in time for Easter. Among these latter are Rev. Dr. Hugh Black of Union Theological Seminary, Rev. Dr. Edward Holyoke of Providence, R. I., and Rev. Dr. Warren F. Cook of New Britain, Conn.

This influx of American clergymen was not for Easter alone, they will remain, we are informed, for at least six months. "Y" huts will be their churches. No sooner has a distinguished clergyman delivered a sermon than he is rushed off by "Y" motor transport to deliver another discourse elsewhere, thus often visiting ten huts a day. Preparation for the post-war religious movement has been thorough. Two and one-half million pieces of literature have been ordered. It is difficult to see

how the wish recently expressed by a prominent Methodist bishop could be more fully realized:

(1) That the Y. M. C. A. henceforth should be definitely and exclusively Protestant. (2) That it should be aggressively evangelistic. (3) That "in the preparation of Christianity for the new days elsewhere," the Y. M. C. A. should be acknowledged as an agency of the Protestant church and not the Protestant church as an agency of the Y. M. C. A.

There can no longer be any difficulty for Catholics to understand the true nature of the Y. M. C. A.

The Theaters in Holy Week

BOTH the influenza epidemic and the war have passed over the nation, but neither has affected the crowds that follow after the latest stage frivolities. They have not in the least thinned the long processions that wait in line before the box offices of smiling theater managers. "Even Holy Week," writes Charles Darnton in the *New York Evening World*, "has been the greatest week of its kind in the history of the theater." There has been no trace of religious regard or common Christian decency such as holds sacred the one day at least of Christ's great holocaust upon the Cross: "On Good Friday the receipts everywhere exceeded those of the previous Friday, not by small amounts, but by sums which seemed more like the business of a great holiday." Similar "excellent business," is reported from other large cities. "All of which would tend to indicate that Holy Week as a theatrical bugaboo is a thing of the past." It may indicate this and no more to the clever theatrical reporter, but for the serious-minded student of our social conditions it helps still further to make plain the sham and hollowness of our vaunted culture and the reason for the Red deluge that is now sweeping over Europe and may engulf America as well. Ziegfeld's and the Rialto are but straws in the wind.

Venerable Bishop Neumann

THE process of the beatification of the Rt. Rev. John P. Neumann, C. SS. R., which was interrupted for a time by the World War, has now again been resumed. In him Buffalo may yet see its cherished priest and Philadelphia its fourth Bishop raised to the honors of the altar. Bishop Neumann was born in Bohemia, March 2, 1811, and came to America as a seminarian. He was ordained in 1836 by Bishop Dubois and began his fruitful ministry in Western New York. In 1840 he entered the Redemptorist Congregation and was finally made rector of St. Alphonsus church in Baltimore, Md. While engaged in this function he received the command, given him by Pope Pius IX under holy obedience, of accepting the Bishopric of Philadelphia. In five years, according to the *Buffalo Union and Times* which rejoices in the news of the resumed process of beatification, Bishop Neumann erected fifty churches. Where he had found but two parochial schools he left almost 100 at the time of his death, which occurred in 1860. Speaking of his labors in Western New York the Buffalo paper adds:

While the fame of the Venerable Neumann's sanctity has spread throughout this locality, it is not so generally known that he was a finished scholar. "A profound theologian, thoroughly versed not only in all branches of sacred learnings but in the natural sciences as well, particularly in botany, he spoke fluently many Slavic dialects and at least eight modern languages, besides being master of Latin, Greek and Hebrew." It was his knowledge of these several modern tongues that enabled him to reach so effectively all the members of his flock.

He is said to have been the first American bishop to introduce into his diocese the devotion of the Forty Hours.